A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY
UMBRIA, FLORENCE AND SIENA.

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A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

VOL. I

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

Alinari, photo. Art Agnus C.

In the Campo Santo Pisa.

Giovanni Pisano.

A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

UMBRIA FLORENCE AND SIENA FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

EDITED BY LANGTON DOUGLAS

ASSISTED BY S. ARTHUR STRONG

IN SIX VOLUMES ILLUSTRATED

VOL. I

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

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OTHER WORKS BY
MR. LANGTON DOUGLAS

FRA ANGELICO

THE HISTORY OF SIENA

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PREFACE

IT is unnecessary to make any apology for this second edition of the *History of Painting in Italy*. Notwithstanding all that has been done in the last forty years, by archivists on the one hand, and by connoisseurs on the other, with the object of elucidating the history of the central Italian schools, this book still remains the standard authority upon the subject. Of genuine additions to knowledge, of scientifically verifiable facts accepted as such by all serious and intelligent students, how little has been added to that particular fabric of human learning which owed so much to Crowe and Cavalcaselle! Much that passed for knowledge a decade ago has been proved to be unfounded theory: and, were it not unwise to prophesy, we would venture to predict that, in the coming decade, the field of art criticism will be strewn with the wreckage of many other pretentious but cheaply-built structures.

The public demand for the first edition has gone on increasing up to the present time, and in recent years second-hand copies of the book have commanded extra-

ordinarily high prices. This demand cannot have been due to the outward form of the volumes—for the *History of Painting in Italy* had few of the adornments of the modern art book—nor can it have been occasioned by any graces of style that the work possessed. The one explanation of it is that Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History* is indispensable to the serious student.

The present edition, moreover, is much more than a mere reissue. It has, in a great measure, the character of a new work. With the assistance of the Cav. G. B. Cavalcaselle, Sir Joseph Crowe had, for some years previous to 1896, been engaged in preparing a new edition of the *History*. When this work was interrupted by his death he had entirely rewritten more than a third of the book, and had collected a great store of important material relating to the later periods. We publish the authors' text and notes as they left them, merely making ordinary proof-reader's corrections. In the notes marked with an asterisk we have added the results of our own researches, and such genuine discoveries as have been made in recent years by other students of Italian painting.

Before Mr. S. Arthur Strong, with the approval of Mr. Murray and the representatives of the late Sir Joseph Crowe, invited me to collaborate with him in the completion of this work, I had been engaged for some years in collecting material in Italy for a new critical edition of Vasari's *Lives*, an undertaking which I had dreamed of, I do not like to say how long ago, when as a boy-student

I had come under the direct influence of Mr. Ruskin. Through no fault of my own, my scheme came to nothing; and when, in the year 1899, I was asked to join Mr. Strong in the work of editing this book, I gladly accepted the invitation. In the earlier stages of the preparation of these volumes Mr. Strong took an active part. He has, however, been prevented by illness from correcting the final proofs, and cannot, therefore, be held responsible for any mistakes to be found in them. It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes of this edition will be enriched by the fruits of his wide study of Italian pictures and drawings, by his fine connoisseurship, and his archæological and iconographical erudition.

Our thanks are due to many directors of galleries for their kindness in facilitating our researches. We wish to express our gratitude to Sir Walter Armstrong, Dr. Wilhelm Bode, M. Alfred Cartier, Mr. F. R. Earp, Dr. Georg Göthe, Dr. Friedländer, Dr. Lippmann, Dr. Karl Madsen, Dr. Ettore Modigliani, Sir Edward Poynter, Dr. Corrado Ricci, Dr. Oswald Sirén, Professor Adolfo Venturi, and Professor York Powell, librarian of Christ Church, Oxford, as well as to the learned directors of the Hungarian National Gallery, the Magyar Nemzeti Museum, and the galleries of Oxford, Nancy and Munich. We desire also to thank the private collectors who have rendered us assistance, and especially Lady Wantage, Lord Balcarres, Mr. R. H. Benson, Mr. Herbert Cook, Mr. Charles Loeser, Mr. C. Fairfax Murray, and Sir C. Hubert H. Parry. To

Mr. S. A. J. Churchill, British Consul-General for Sicily, to Signor N. Mengozzi, and to Professor Zdekauer, we are indebted for various kind offices, and to the Minister of Public Instruction for Italy for the photographs of the newly-discovered frescoes at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, as well as for granting us access to those important works.

LANGTON DOUGLAS

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE AUTHORS

I

JOSEPH ARCHER CROWE

JOSEPH ARCHER CROWE was born in London on October 20th, 1825. He was no *parvenu* of connoisseurship. The formation of an educated taste takes time: it cannot be done in a hurry—as some pathetically imagine who in adult life career round Europe striving, as they phrase it, "to get culture." Crowe inherited a love of art. His early home, too, was in no modern Bœotia, but in Paris, the metropolis of art; where his father, a struggling man of letters, took up his residence when Joseph was nine years of age. The future art-historian's whole environment was favourable to the development of æsthetic discrimination. Artists frequented his father's house. His elder brother Eyre early gave evidences of artistic gifts, and the two boys visited together studios and galleries. Finally, when he was fifteen years of age, Joseph Crowe, following his brother's example, joined the *atelier* of Paul Delaroche, thus becoming a fellow-student of Gérôme, Yvon, and Ingres. It soon became evident that his true vocation was that of a connoisseur and historian of painting rather than that of an artist. Like his future co-worker Cavalcaselle, he often absented himself from the *atelier* to visit a picture gallery. He early began his career as a style-critic by spending long mornings in the Louvre, engaged in the careful study of the paintings and drawings in that great collection. Like

Cavalcaselle, he was a Morellian before Morelli. "It was my ambition," he writes, "to distinguish one painter from another by studying his peculiarities of drawing, touch, finish, and general execution."

Whilst still a youth Crowe visited some of the chief German galleries, and in them acquired further practice as a connoisseur. He found that his days in Delaroche's *atelier* had not been misspent. For some kind of artistic training is essential to an art-critic or art-historian of the highest order: a fact which is often overlooked by critics who lay claim to a superfine taste and an extraordinary gift of æsthetic judgment. Not only was the knowledge of technical processes that he had acquired there of permanent value to him in his work; it was also a great advantage to a critic, in the days before the perfecting of photography, to be able to make a rapid sketch of any picture, or detail of a picture, of which he wished to have a record.

In the year 1843, Crowe's father returned to London as leader-writer of the *Morning Chronicle*. The young man now adopted his father's profession and became a London journalist. At the same time he did not renounce altogether the vocation for which he was best fitted, but devoted whatever time he could spare from more remunerative work to the study of the works of the early Flemish masters. It was in the summer of 1847, whilst he was on a holiday on the Continent, spending his time in travelling from gallery to gallery, that he first met an Italian art-student, some five years his senior, who was engaged in similar studies to his own, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. In a post-carriage in Westphalia began an acquaintance which was fruitful of results in the history of art-criticism. After passing some hours together in the Berlin Museum, the two young men parted company, Crowe setting out for Italy, where, with his father as travelling-companion, he visited Venice, Florence and other cities. On his return he continued his preparation of the *Early Flemish Painters*. For some time, however, he was able to make but little

progress. The effort to make a living by journalism absorbed almost all his time and energy. In the year 1852 he took up his abode with Cavalcaselle, who had lost his property in his country's cause, and was now a political refugee, struggling to maintain himself as a draughtsman in London. With Cavalcaselle's help, Crowe's projected work advanced more rapidly. The two enthusiasts visited together galleries and private collections, and worked side by side in great libraries. Their manner of life at this time has well been described by Crowe himself in his *Reminiscences:* "To see and judge of panels and canvases, and confirm or contest my opinions respecting them, was Cavalcaselle's main share in the history of the Flemish painters. He helped me at the British Museum in copying extracts, and was full of zeal at this sort of work. He had also an amazing insight into the periods of a master's career, his early form as well as his middle and later time; and all this would be discussed and argued, and be the subject sometimes of acrimonious debate between us. But the time always came when he or I yielded, and then, the question being decided, I adopted it and set it in its proper order in the narrative which, like all others bearing our joint names, was entirely written by myself. But the place in which these struggles occurred, the season in which they happened, the privations which we both endured during this occurrence, have never been known. Our working-room, which contained a round table and three chairs, was not more than twenty feet square. In the morning we breakfasted on tea and bread; dinner was uncertain, supper equally so. We husbanded our resources carefully: bought our tea by the pound at Twining's, and made it last as long as possible; had no fire, and kept ourselves warm by coverings. Two candles served for light in the evenings. One day in spring, 1853, even the tea gave out, and the morning roll was not forthcoming. The day before Cavalcaselle and I had no dinner. Hunger made us wake early. It was about six or seven in the morning when

we rose. The sun was shining brightly. We dressed, got down in the street, thence into the parks. In Kensington we rested on a bench under the trees, enjoying the air, when there came up to us a very ragged individual, who begged us to take pity on him as he had had no breakfast. I looked at Cavalcaselle and laughed out right as I thought which was worst off of us three."

The work was well advanced towards completion when, in the summer of 1853, on the recommendation of Thackeray, Crowe was sent to the Crimea as special correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*. He was present at the bombardment of Sebastopol and at the battles of Balaclava and Inkermann. On his return from the war, he corrected the proof-sheets of the *Early Flemish Painters*, which had been accepted by Mr. Murray. The book was published on the last day of the year 1856, and was well received by the critics and the public.

Before its publication Crowe, finding it difficult to make a livelihood in London, had already resolved to try his fortune in India. Having some hopes of obtaining the headship of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, he set out for the East. He obtained the post that he sought, but after having occupied it with success for two years, his Indian career was cut short by ill-health. Whilst at Bombay he had been appointed Indian correspondent of the *Times*, and immediately upon his arrival in England he was given other work by the editor, Mr. Mowbray Morris. Crowe was appointed war correspondent on the Austrian side in the Austro-French war; and in this capacity was present at the battle of Solferino.

Shortly after his return to London, Crowe was sent by Lord John Russell to Germany on a diplomatic mission. He did his work so well that in the following year, that is in 1860, he was appointed consul-general at Leipzig. It was during this period of residence in Germany that he met his future wife the Fräulein Asta von Barby, stepdaughter of Otto von

Holtzendorff, Oberstaatsanwalt of Gotha, whom he married shortly after his appointment to the consulate-general.

Crowe was now able to pursue more uninterruptedly his favourite studies—studies which he had continued from time to time during his visits to Italy and Germany. He began the active preparation of a work which he had long planned, his *New History of Painting in Italy*. His old coadjutor Cavalcaselle had already been in Italy again for four years, during which time he had been indefatigable in research. It had been Cavalcaselle's intention to prepare an English edition of Vasari with critical notes. But that scheme fell through, and he now resumed again his partnership with Crowe, with the result that the first volume of the new work was published in 1864. This book was followed by the authors' *History of Painting in North Italy, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, etc.*, which saw the light in 1871.

In the following year Crowe was appointed Consul-General for Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces. His able discharge of his consular duties led to his being made commercial attaché for the whole of Europe, a post he held for sixteen years, residing first at Berlin and afterwards at Paris. In this capacity he was called upon to negotiate treaties, and to serve upon various commissions appointed for dealing with international commerce. In recognition of his services to his country he was made, in 1890, a Knight-Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

During the whole of the last thirty years of his life, Crowe continued his study of art history. In the year 1877 he had finished, with Cavalcaselle's co-operation, a monograph on Titian. Six years later the two authors had published the first volume of a similar work on Raphael, of which the second volume appeared in 1885. Crowe also edited English editions of Burckhardt's *Cicerone* and Kügler's *Handbook of Painting: The German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*. Finally he set about preparing a second edition of his *New History of Painting in Italy*. This work was interrupted by his death, which took place in 1896, a few

months after he had resigned his post of commercial attaché for Europe.

Neither Crowe nor Cavalcaselle founded a coterie, or was the centre of a mutual-help society. They never allowed their æsthetic judgment to be warped by personal or pecuniary considerations. They were always able to give weighty and definite reasons for their attributions, and were never content to substitute a subtle form of personal abuse for sound argument. Moreover, neither of the co-workers belonged to that parasitic, cosmopolitan class from which the writers of little art-books are frequently drawn. Crowe, like Cavalcaselle, was a virile, strenuous worker, and rendered signal public service to his country. It is to be regretted that he did not live to enjoy his hard-won leisure, and that he had to leave to others the completion of the present work.

II.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA CAVALCASELLE

GIOVANNI BATTISTA CAVALCASELLE was born at Legnago, in the valley of the Adige, on January 22nd, 1820. Whilst yet a boy he was inspired by the two emotions which influenced him throughout the whole course of his life—patriotism and a love of his country's art. He became a student at the Accademia delle Belle Arti at Venice, and hoped to become a painter. But he soon showed that his true vocation was that of the connoisseur and art historian; and already in his youth he began the study of the masterpieces of what is perhaps the greatest, and is certainly the most lovable, of all schools of painting—the Venetian.

For some time his relations entertained the hope that he might become an engineer, and with that object he was sent

to Padua. But he never really renounced his favourite pursuit, and in the year 1844 he recommenced his artistic studies in earnest. He visited the cities of Tuscany, and ultimately set out to see the treasures of Italian art in foreign countries. It was whilst he was travelling in Germany that he met in a post-carriage, between Hamm and Minden, Joseph Archer Crowe. The two young men were mutually attracted to each other, and in the Berlin Museum, as we have already related, they first studied together some works of the great masters.

After his travels in Germany, Cavalcaselle returned to Venice, and in the memorable year 1848 he was one of the band of young men who rallied round Manin, determined to devote themselves, under his leadership, to the cause of Italian freedom. As an agent of the Venetian patriot, Cavalcaselle travelled through Venetia and Lombardy, helping to rouse the population to rebellion against the Austrian rule. Finally he was arrested by Austrian gendarmes, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. On the morning fixed for the execution Cavalcaselle and three companions, also condemned to death, were in a chapel of the cathedral of Piacenza awaiting their summons. First one of his comrades was taken out to be shot. An hour later another was led out to his death. Shortly after that a third was escorted out of the Duomo. Cavalcaselle believed that his own summons would immediately follow. But a few minutes later, not Austrian soldiers, but victorious Italian insurgents burst into the cathedral, and the artist was saved.

The young patriot's troubles, however, were not over. He joined the forces of Garibaldi, and was taken prisoner by the French in 1849. He arrived at Paris in a miserable plight. There he met Crowe again, and with his help was enabled to reach London.

For some time after this Cavalcaselle was in great poverty. His property at Legnago had been sequestrated. He was no longer able to pursue, undisturbed by pecuniary anxieties, the

studies he loved. He had a small periodical remittance from his relations in Italy, but that was utterly inadequate for his needs, and the pittance that he earned as a draughtsman was not sufficient to relieve him from anxiety and even from actual want.

About this time, Crowe, as we have seen, himself suffered reverses of fortune. And the two young men decided to occupy rooms together in Silver Street, Regent Street. It was then that their partnership in authorship really began. They worked together on a history of early Flemish painters, for which Crowe had begun to collect materials some years before. A description of the hardships the two friends suffered at this period and of their methods of study has already been given in Crowe's own words in the preceding biography.

In the spring of 1853 Cavalcaselle's position began to improve. Sir Charles Eastlake discovered his merits and frequently consulted him. He obtained more regular work as a draughtsman and an expert. On the last day of the year 1856 Mr. Murray published the *Early Flemish Painters*, which had been finished some time previously. The publication of this book added considerably to the reputation of both authors, and Mr. Murray was so pleased with its reception that he engaged Cavalcaselle to prepare another important work. It was proposed that he should provide the notes of a new English edition of Vasari's *Lives;* and, in order to enable him to collect material in Italy, the publisher gave him an allowance. Armed with an English safe-conduct, Cavalcaselle set out for Italy in the year 1857. After a time the allowance was withdrawn. Nevertheless, Cavalcaselle continued his labours. Ill-clad, and living on the humblest fare, he wandered about the peninsula collecting stores of artistic knowledge. In the meantime Crowe had not been idle. He had continued in German galleries the studies which he had formerly pursued in Italy. The projected edition of Vasari came to nothing. The two friends again entered into

partnership, and produced together the *New History of Italian Painting*, which saw the light in the year 1864.

Cavalcaselle had now permanently settled in Italy. A year before the publication of the History he had written a monograph on the *Conservazione dei monumenti e oggetti di belle arti*. This work gained for him the post of Ispettore di Belle Arti, an office which he held until the year 1895.

For the last thirty years of his life Cavalcaselle lived the quiet life of a student. Of the other works he published in conjunction with Crowe, the *History of Painting in North Italy* and the monographs on Titian and Raphael, we have already spoken. He spent his closing years in preparing an Italian edition of the *New History of Painting in Italy*, a work he did not live to complete. In the autumn of 1897 he was taken suddenly ill whilst on a railway journey. He died on the last day of October, in the hospital of S. Antonio, at Rome.

Cavalcaselle was a modest, retiring scholar, whose ardent patriotism impelled him to take for a time an active part in political life. He did not make either of patriotism or of connoisseurship a profitable trade. Being neither a place-hunter, nor a picture-dealer in masquerade, he never attained to affluence. Whilst Crowe had a wider knowledge of art in general than his co-worker, and contributed a great deal more than the literary form to every work he issued, Cavalcaselle had a more complete knowledge of Italian schools. He was, in fact, the greatest connoisseur of the painting of Italy that ever lived. He had, in something near perfection, the connoisseur's eye and the connoisseur's memory; and, in his case, pecuniary interests and the desire of wealth and position did not prevent him from using in the best possible way his great natural gifts. His extraordinary memory enabled him to do without the help of photographs more than less richly endowed critics are able to accomplish with all the modern aids to study. At the same time he placed a proper value upon documentary evidence, basing his conclusions

on all the available testimony. It was, perhaps, his natural modesty that led him to take Vasari too seriously, and to rate too highly the evidence of tradition. The researches of archivists like Dr. Ludwig have tended to confirm many of the judgments of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and to overthrow the too readily accepted theories of some of their critics. Sometimes, too, when connoisseurs have put forth as new and original some striking attribution, it has been found subsequently that their conclusions had been anticipated by the authors of the *New History of Painting in Italy*.

As a patriot whose martyrdom was lifelong—for the loss of his property hampered him continually in the studies he loved—Cavalcaselle merits the gratitude of his own people whose liberty he helped to win. His work as a scientific student has made all throughout the world who are interested in the history of art his debtors.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

Page 12, note *1. These words are to be added: "Whether Professor Venturi's interpretation of this mosaic is correct or not, that of the authors' is certainly wrong. Dr. Richter's and Miss Taylor's forthcoming work, *The Golden Age of Early Christian Art*, will contain a full account of the mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore."

Page 13, line 11. For "characters" read "character."

Page 33, note *1, six lines from the bottom of the page. For "S. Urbano a Caffarella" read "S. Urbano alla Caffarella."

Pages 52, 53, note *1. At the time that the editor studied the frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua, he had not had the advantage of reading Mr. G. McN. Rushforth's admirable monograph on that church. He now accepts Mr. Rushforth's conclusion that the more important frescoes referred to in the note belong to the time of John VII. (705–707). This change of opinion does not in any way affect the editor's general conclusions as to the history of the Roman school of painting. [See *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. i.; *The Church of S. Maria Antiqua*. By G. McN. Rushforth. London: Macmillan, 1902.]

Page 84, line 7. Omit the word "unfortunately."

Page 101, note 2, line 4. For "Bonnano" read "Bonanno."

Page 129, note *2, line 2. For "oc̃ . . . H" read "QUOD HIC."

" " " 5. For "Ugolini" read "Ugonio," and add the following sentences to the note: "In the course of the restorations now in progress at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere the epigraph has come to light again. On one of the pilasters which form the bases of the two anterior columns of the ciborium is to be seen the inscription—

✠ HOC OPUS
FECIT
ARNULFUS
ANNO DOMINI MCC.
LXXXXIII
MENSE NOVEMBER
DIE XX

This inscription proves that the ciborium was completed by Arnolfo on November 20, 1293, and not in 1283, as Ugonio stated."

Page 130. In the second line of the notes omit the words "SACELLUM BONIF. VIII IN VATICANA BASILICA."

Page 153, line 27. Add this note: "Professor L. Zdekauer has found the following documentary mention of Manfredino in the codices of the Opera di S. Jacopo at Pistoia (cod. 24, fol. 188). It relates to the year 1281:—'Manfredinus Alberti pictor pro suo salario et mercede et pictura volte (*sic*), que est in ecclesia Sancti Zenonis super altare Sancti Proculi . . . die xv Oct. . . . lib. xl.'"

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

NOTE

The Editor's notes are marked with an asterisk.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

CHAPTER I[1]

ART IN ITALY TILL THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

THERE is some considerable difficulty in distinguishing Christian art as it was practised in Italy during the earliest centuries of our era from the pagan art in which it first took root. It is altogether doubtful whether any account can be given of the decay of classic painting and sculpture in Italian cities which would be acceptable as both interesting and correct. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a mere sketch of Christian art as it rose through the darkness of the centuries into a new originality, and then describe its renascence as time and insight may allow.

The gradual decay of pictorial skill during the centuries which preceded the fall of the Western Empire has been variously attributed to the degeneracy of the Romans and the spread of Christian doctrines. But nothing can be more certain than that the depreciation of the standard established at a very early period by the genius of the Greeks began long before the advent of Christianity. It is, however, not unlikely that the spread of Christian teaching precipitated a catastrophe which could not under any circumstances have been averted.

*[1] As has been already stated in the Preface, the editors have made no alteration in the authors' text. They have merely added notes and appendices. The editors' notes are preceded in each case by an asterisk.

The primitive Christians, notoriously disliking images and pictures, doubtless contributed to bring Roman painting in the earliest ages into discredit; but other elements equally powerful and destructive had been at work before they appeared, and when, in course of time, the followers of the nascent faith learnt to approve the embellishments which they had previously condemned, they still found artists to carry out their behests whose skill was based entirely on the principles of the antique.

If we visit the Roman or Neapolitan catacombs, in which the first compositions based on Christian themes are found, we discover that the subjects are pagan in form, and that painters had been unable to conceive of a new art which should simply lean on the Gospels, or on traditions of the Christian Churches.

From the very earliest period of which we have illustrations at Rome, there is evidence to show the existence of this state of things, and nowhere is this more clearly manifested than in the catacombs which served as burial places for the Christian dead when Christians enjoyed but dubious protection from their pagan rulers. Amongst the oldest and most important of these catacombs is that of St. Callixtus at Rome,[1] where we find the earliest sample of Christian subject and design in a chapel or cubiculum still called Stanza dei Pesci. There is so little doubt of the genuineness of this production, and so much danger of its obliteration under the wear of time, that it deserves description.

A vaulted ceiling, divided into equal triangular sections by Greek cross ribbings, covers the whole chapel. A central medallion comprises a figure of a standing shepherd and two of his flock at his sides. A circle circumscribes this medallion, and coloured outlines in rounds, thrice repeated, of the Good Shepherd carrying the lamb, or women

*[1] The paintings in the Cappella Greca in the Catacombs of Priscilla are now held by some authorities to belong to the first half of the second century. In the vault of this chapel are symbolical representations of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; on its walls are scenes from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, as well as a representation of the Agape discovered by Wilpert. See WILPERT, "*Fractio Panis.*" *La plus ancienne representation du sacrifice Eucharistique à la "Cappella Greca"* [Paris, Didot, 1896]; also WILPERT, *Die Malereien der Sacraments-kapellen in der katakombe des hl. Callistus.* [Freiburg-in-Breisgau, Herder, 1897.] There is a Madonna and child in this *Cappella*, which is believed to be the earliest existing representation of the Blessed Virgin.

orant, fill the principal spaces. The four figures face each other, and rest on pedestals springing from interlaced ornament winding round genii with pastoral emblems. In four smaller sections of the ceiling female heads are set in separate rounds, and other similar heads appear in subordinate framings.[1]

Rome about the time of the Antonines was tolerant of Christian emblems, and particularly so in places set apart for the burial of the dead. But the most jealous censor, looking at the decorations we have been describing, might have seen nothing in it beyond pictorial ornament. The Christian idea was present in the shepherd and his lambs, or the women calling upon Christ, but it needed only to seem so to the initiated; nor was there anything in the spirit of the art or its execution to manifest a new feeling differing from that of pagans. The very absence of assertions of Christian thought in these paintings tends to show that they were of early date. Evidence of all kinds warrants us in assigning them to the third century of our era, when art still preserved the semblance of the facile treatment derived from the classic time, but shows us its decay by conventionalism and incorrect shaping of the human form. Writers of this period tell us that the earliest subjects allowed to the Christian were this Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lions' den, Noah and the ark, Moses striking the rock, Jonas and the whale, and Orpheus charming the wild beasts. The catacomb of St. Callixtus contains most of these subjects in the style of the decorations above described, yet, if possible, in feebler and ruder executions.

Cubiculo delle Pecore, Lunette. The Good Shepherd is represented standing with the lamb round his neck and two sheep at his feet, two males in profile at his sides, each of whom is accompanied by two of the flock; on the wall on the right: Moses untying his sandals at the bidding of God, whose presence is indicated by a hand, and the same Moses striking the rock that sends forth the stream from which a man is about to quench his thirst. Another subject, perhaps Jonah, has become unintelligible on account of the decay of the wall surface, and in time it is to be feared very little will be left of the Good Shepherd and his companions, of which the arms and legs alone were lately distinguishable.

*[1] Near the door is a vessel for milk, symbolising the Eucharist, guarded by two sheep.

Here we have the simplest forms of gospel subjects as they came from the hands of painters of the third and fourth centuries, who practised the technical methods of the pagan time. The ground on which they worked is light; the figures are painted within the contours in uniform colours thrown into relief by deeper shades of the same tints. Characteristic are: the inner detail roughly and rapidly indicated—like the eyes, nose, and mouth—by rudely pencilled lines; the standard colours of dress are the three primaries—blue, red, and yellow. There is no Christian feeling in the arrangement, which imitates the antique, and fails to reveal to any but the initiated its Christian character and origin.

Years go by, and the same processes are perpetuated in the catacombs.

St. Callixtus, Stanza d'Orfeo. Orpheus sits between two trees on which birds are perched; he plays the lyre, charming two lions, camels, and a bull. Above a recess on the left the prophet Micah is standing, and Moses strikes the rock. Between them the Virgin Mary sits in front of the stable of Bethlehem, with the infant Christ on her lap, receiving—one may think—the Magi, whose figures are now obliterated.

In a neighbouring space, Daniel stands under an archway between two lions; above him, Job seated to the left, and to the right Moses baring his foot, which he raises to a projection.

Opposite to this subject Elijah drives in a car drawn by four horses attended by two spectators, one of whom appears to be Elisha, who is about to receive the prophet's mantle.

Above the niche to the left, a female orante raises her arms to heaven. Noah looks out of the window of the ark at the dove returning with the olive branch; Lazarus stands at the door of the sepulchre in his cerecloths, at the bidding of Christ who has ordered him to rise.

A pagan might have thought that Elijah was racing in the circus. The Saviour might easily be confounded with a senator. Daniel looks like a Hercules. It is unfortunate that these wall paintings should be disappearing; that nothing should be left but some outlines of the Virgin; that Orpheus should be mutilated, and the rest of the decoration injured by openings made in the

walls after the completion of the pictures. Fatal effects have been produced by the efflux of lime on the vaulting, in the centre of which there are vestiges of a bust of Christ, with hair divided in the middle, and locks flowing on each side to the shoulders, the lips and cheeks being covered with a short beard and moustache, and the shoulders decked with drapery.[1]

The characteristics of the first Christian painters are combined in these examples, with elements peculiar to work of a later time. The subjects are no longer confined to the Old, they are also taken from the New Testament. Christ is depicted as a child, in the lap of the Virgin Mary, but he appears in the ceiling as the Saviour in his manhood. Yet the art differs very little from that of the earliest Christians. The drawing has perhaps lost in correctness; the forms are by turns too sturdy or too slender; detail is more carelessly worked out than before, but the technical system remains unchanged.

It would be difficult to give a positive date to the first representation of the Epiphany, but the fragment above noticed might be ascribed to the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century, and other examples of equal, if not greater, antiquity are to be seen in the catacombs of Sant' Agnese and Santi Marcellino e Pietro.[2]

In Sant' Agnese the Virgin and Child are attended by three Magi, whose star is depicted above the principal figure; but the painters, whose work is unfortunately injured, were careful to withhold the halo or nimbus from the first, and the kingly dress from the second.

At Santi Marcellino e Pietro the kings are reduced to two, making their presents to the Madonna. But her figure is depicted with more grace of form and drapery than the counterparts else-

[1] The Epiphany is much injured. The figure of the Virgin is now but faintly seen. The prophet originally above Daniel is gone. The head of Elijah has been cut off by the opening of a recess in the wall. The same cause has produced the mutilation of the figure of the Saviour bidding Lazarus to rise, and half the head of Moses striking the rock. One wall is bared of all but a single figure.

* Except the figure of the Orpheus, almost all traces of these paintings have disappeared.

*[2] The paintings in the crypt of the Madonna are now adjudged to belong to the first half of the third century.

where. Classic drapery and light colour indicate a comparatively early execution. We trace more obscurely the progress of Christian art in a figure of the Redeemer in the chapel of the Rotunda in St. Callixtus.

Some Christian sects of the second century are described as addressing their devotion to busts of Christ, and thereby giving cause for reprobation to other Christians. There were painted effigies of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul in the fourth century, which were not always looked upon with favour. It may therefore be that in the space which intervened between these two dates the first representation of the manhood of the Redeemer in the catacombs was produced. The second to which we can now point, in the chapel of the Four Evangelists in the catacomb of St. Callixtus, was possibly executed at the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. At that time the primitive notions of the physical ugliness of Christ had doubtless given way to that of more fervid worshippers, who asserted that his appearance had been dignified and beautiful. But, however much the ideals of the classic time may have been honoured and preserved, painters had gradually lost the faculty of realising them. They merely fashioned in a rude way the likeness of an adolescent, who passed as the Good Shepherd, or designated the Saviour as a bearded man of mature age, whose luxuriant hair was twisted into curling locks and hung copiously on his shoulders.

In the vaulting of the Four Evangelists at St. Callixtus, Christ, as the Redeemer, is seated on a throne, holding the Bible in one hand and giving a blessing with the other. His divinity is indicated by a nimbus and the alpha and omega. On each side of him is a classic figure standing, one of them pointing to the star which guided the shepherds to the stable of Bethlehem. The face of Christ expresses some of the feeling which so nobly characterises effigies of this kind in the fourteenth century.[1]

In rude delineations of this kind—and especially pictures injured by age and neglect, as these are—it is hard to distinguish

[1] An injured painting, with discolourations on the Saviour's head, and but scanty traces of a blue mantle and red tunic. A copy is in the museum of S. Giovanni Laterano.

the measure of skill which pertained to the artists of the time. But enough remains to justify the conclusion that painters were living on the traditions of the classic age, and applied the types of pagan gods to the figure of the Redeemer.[1] In their later endeavours to attain the semblance of majesty they merely exaggerated the superficial manifestations of ordinary passion or pain, and their power declined in proportion to the distance which separated them from the ideals of bygone centuries.

On a level with the works of the catacombs previously described, is a group of the fourth or fifth century in the cemetery of Santi Nereo e Achilleo, in which a mother with a child, and four men in Phrygian dress, represent the Magi offering presents to the Virgin and infant Saviour.[2]

On a lower scale is a series of subjects in the same place; Christ enthroned between four attendants, certain figures busy, it would seem, in navigating a ship, and the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders, accompanied by others guarding a flock, all of which display carelessness of execution, as shown in the design of slender forms incorrect in shape and defective in proportion.

Whilst art was thus falling into decay at Rome, it was following a similar decline at Naples, where specimens of painting of the fourth or fifth century are still preserved in Christian catacombs.[3] Here an adventitious interest is created by classic models stamped with a new originality. St. Peter and St. Paul are depicted in pagan garb. But the first shows the square head and beard, the short hair, and yellow tunic, which ever after characterised the bearer of the keys; and the second is delineated, as he always has been delineated since, with a long head and pointed beard. A nimbus encircles the heads of the apostles, but their presentment is not less rude than that of Roman figures of the same time.[4]

*[1] On the origin and development of the type of the Good Shepherd, see VENTURI'S admirable *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, tom. i. [Milan, Hoepli, 1901], pp. 30–38. Venturi gives a bibliography of the subject.

[2] Santi Nereo e Achilleo, Cappella dei Dodici Apostoli.

[3] Naples, Catacombs, Braccio Sinistro, seconda sepoltura.

[4] Each saint is designated with initials. The flesh tints are ruddy, with lights and shadows painted in stiff body colour.

An orant female, with outstretched arms, in a niche of the same catacomb, inscribed with the words "VITALIA, IN PACE," illustrates the habit of commemorating the deaths of Christian proselytes by effigies.

Further on is the tomb of St. Januarius, possibly of the fifth or sixth century, with a figure of the Saviour in a recess, the dress antique, consisting of a tunic and sandals, and both arms stretched forward. The youthful head is encircled by a nimbus inscribed with the alpha and omega. At the sides are two females with their arms extended, and above them are two candelabra. The treatment is similar to that of other paintings in the catacomb.[1] It reveals the same decline as was manifested in similar productions in other parts of Italy.

But when we speak of decline we are bound to remember that the progress of decay was so gradual as almost to defy chronological definition. Thus it is that in Santi Marcellino e Pietro at Rome, at the close of the fifth or the opening of the sixth century, painting is but very little inferior to what it had been a hundred years earlier in St. Callixtus, and a St. Peter, St. Marcellinus, or St. Tiburtius attending the Paschal Lamb at the source of four rivers, on the walls of a vaulting, are designed with slender frames, diminutive heads, and faulty extremities, and still recall the antique; whilst the Saviour seated in a Roman chair, in the centre of an arching, presents us with a type of face not unworthy of comparison with that which marked the transient revival which we shall have to notice at Ravenna. Especially in the shape of the head and the lines of the features of this wall tempera we still find something of antique simplicity and selection. There is no doubt of the painter's intention to depict Christ, for he applies the nimbus and the Greek letters. But his purpose is also indicated by the gospel in one hand, the blessing given by the other. Youth is apparent in an oval face, an open brow, and a calm glance not devoid of majesty. Long locks fall regularly to the shoulders, and a pointed beard adorns the chin. The contour of the body, too, is fairly defined, but length and slenderness are excessive, as they are, even in a greater degree, in attendant figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, which appear all the more ex-

[1] The head of Vitalia is now little more than a contour.

aggerated as they are forced into the cornered spaces of a furnace vaulting.[1]

Long before this time, however, painting had ceased to be confined to the catacombs, and the higher orders of the Italian clergy had felt that paganism could not be eradicated with greater ease than by the multiplication of pictures. But the mosaics with which holy edifices were adorned displayed no other character than the paintings of the catacombs, nor was the influence of classic forms less visible in them than it had been in the ruder or more hasty works of the Christian cemeteries.[2]

No mosaics of earlier date than the close of the fourth century are to be found at Rome. The remains of those in the baptistery now called Santa Costanza, built at Rome by Constantine in the fourth century, though greatly injured, leave little doubt as to the time when they were executed. Here the more essentially pagan peculiarities of the early centuries are curiously marked.

The Saviour appears in the centre of one of the arched doors, sitting on the orb, in tunic and sandals, and giving the gospels to one of the apostles, probably St. Peter, standing to the left in front of two other figures.[3] Another representation of the Saviour adorns the arch of a second door in the same edifice. He stands and gives a scroll to an old

[1] These remnants are in the Cappella di Santi Pietro e Marcellino. A nimbus and Greek letter are above the Lamb, and PETRUS is inscribed above the head of that saint. But a copy of the work may be seen in the museum of San Giovanni Laterano.

[2] Critics were long deceived by a so-called mosaic in the Christian museum of the Vatican into the belief that the Saviour was represented in the earliest times in the green tunic, long hair and beard, and the classical forms of a Greek philosopher. A Latin inscription vouched for the truth of a theory which analysis entirely overthrows. The celebrated *ikon* is but a plaster imitation of mosaic, and may have been a copy of an old classic portrait. It has been removed quite lately from the public rooms of the Vatican. A painting in the same museum, said to be of the fourth century, is equally unsatisfactory to the critic. Originally in the catacomb of St. Sebastian, it represents the Saviour holding a scroll and touching the shoulder of one near him, whilst other figures are seated around. This painting, semicircular in form, seems to represent the Last Supper.

[3] Behind St. Peter are two, and to the right of the Saviour seven trees. The head of St. Peter is comparatively new, and the mosaic, originally rough in execution, has been mended at different periods, in some cases with plaster cubes. That the original work dates from the time of Constantine can now scarcely be contested. The stones are large and loosely set, which is a characteristic feature. But see MÜNTZ, *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, "Notes sur les Mosaïques Chrétiennes de l'Italie."

and venerable figure on the left, whilst his right is stretched out in the direction of two apostles, probably St. Peter and St. Paul. A tree on each side of the Saviour and four lambs at his feet symbolise the kindly nature and the steady growth of the faith.

In both these mosaics the Saviour's head is surrounded by a simple nimbus, whilst the apostles have none. In the spandrels of the arches of the cupola, ornaments of vine issue from vases. Genii gather the grapes, whilst birds flutter among the branches and children play musical instruments. The Christian and profane are thus commingled as they were in the earliest art of the catacombs, and the general appearance of the remains is that of work grandly conceived and executed in the broad method of cubing proper to the primitive mosaists of the Christian era.

The Baptistery of Naples, also of the time of Constantine—an irregular octagonal building surmounted by a cupola—contains mosaics, the style of which may be traced amidst the repairs of restorers.

Amongst the prophets on the broad sides of the octagon, some of whom hold crowns and others offerings, varied attitudes, suitable actions, and classic draperies remind us of the fine figures of previous ages. Scenes from the life of the Saviour also fill the cupola, but are fatally altered by restoring.[1]

[1] An old inscription in this baptistery, which is now called S. Giovanni in Fonte, supports the tradition that Constantine erected the building in 303. This fact is confirmed by the chronicles of Giovanni Villani. See LUIGI CATALANI, *Le Chiese di Napoli* (8vo, Naples, 1845), i. pp. 46, 47. Of the four symbols of the Evangelists, one, which represents St. John in the form of an angel, has the head of an aged man with the regular features of the classic Roman time. In the centre of the cupola is the Greek monogram and cross.

* Very different opinions as to the date of these mosaics have been expressed by archæologists and historians. Whilst Catalini holds with Crowe and Cavalcaselle that they are of the age of Constantine, some Neapolitan writers maintain that they were executed in the sixth century. Müntz maintained, on the other hand, that they are of the same date as the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, and belong to the early half of the fifth century. (MÜNTZ, "Notes sur les Mosaïques Chrétiennes de l'Italie," in the *Revue Archéologique* (janvier–février, 1883, vii., *Les Mosaïques de Naples*). These mosaics have recently been carefully restored by the Cav. F. Mazzanti, director of the *Ufficio regionale per la conservazione dei monumenti delle provincie meridionali*. As in many other instances, modern research tends to confirm the opinion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle. In the process of cleaning and restoration the early classical character of these mosaics became more and more obvious, and the best authorities

Reverting to works at Rome, the mosaics of Santa Pudenziana first attract attention, because, in spite of unfortunate mutilations, the shape and features of the principal figure are classic and the style of the picture indicative of power.

Christ sits enthroned in the apsis on a Roman chair. He gives the blessing with his right hand; his left is on the gospel. The tunic, mantle, and sandals which he wears are Roman; his face is regular, and, but for the large nimbus that surrounds the head, with its long locks falling to the shoulders and the beard that copiously covers the chin, we should liken him to the antique Jupiter, in one of the grand movements which even artists of the decline were able to produce. The figure is seated in front of an architecture of temple porticos, in the centre of which a hill is surmounted by a cross, about which we still see the ox head which symbolises St. Luke, and remnants of other similar emblems in a sky with ruddy clouds tipped with gilt light. Prominent amongst the attendants in front of the throne are St. Pudenziana and St. Praxedis, standing with crowns in their hands, whose forms are visible above those of ten saints, of which none are seen below the waist, the remainder of the figures having been cut down by modern restorers. The broad masses of light and shade, the luminous flesh tones, where they are not marred by restoration, produce a good harmony, and the forms are not as yet inclosed in dark outlines which mark the later progress of the decline.

The mosaics of the arch of the tribune and great aisle in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, which were finished in the middle of the fifth century, are more satisfactory and more interesting works of the time. They give sufficient proof of the difficulty under which the mosaists laboured in rendering scriptural subjects of which the typical compositions had not as yet been traditionally defined.

The centre of the arch of the tribune is occupied by a throne on gold ground, inclosed in a circle. The throne is guarded by two prophets and the symbols of the Evangelists. Beneath are the words, XYSTUS EPISCOPUS PLEBI DEI. Both sides of the arch are filled with mosaics,

are now agreed that they belong to an earlier date than that assigned to them by M. Müntz. See A FILANGIERI DI CANDIDA, *I restauri dei mosaici del Battistero di San Giovanni in Fonte nel Duomo di Napoli*, in *L'Arte*, anno i., fasc. vi.–ix., June–September, 1898.

of which the highest on the left represents the Annunciation. The Virgin is seated on a large antique chair, a diadem on her head, near a basket of wool. An angel in the air announces to her the coming of the Dove. At Mary's sides are two couples of angels, a fifth to the left stands before Joseph. The whole seems confined in the space between two temples, one of which near Joseph is open, and shows the lighted lamps behind the drawn curtains.

Beneath this representation of the Annunciation is the Adoration of the Magi. The infant Christ sits on a throne, his head encircled by a nimbus surmounted by a golden star, his seat guarded by four angels in the act of benediction. To the left the Virgin, classically draped, rests her chin on her hand, and raises her right foot to a low stool. Two kings near her, in rich Phrygian dress, present their offering on cushions, and a temple closes the scene on that side. To the right a seated figure can scarcely be distinguished.

Lower down, the Massacre of the Innocents. The mothers, with dishevelled hair, and children in their arms, stand together motionless, and the soldiers in a company also, but one of them striking a woman. On the right Herod on his throne, giving the signal with his baton. A cold and inanimate representation of a difficult subject. At the base of the arch on that side Jerusalem with five lamps.

On the upper part of the right side of the arch the first composition is the Presentation. The temple is a simple portico, in front of which Mary carries the nimbed child, attended by two angels; a third, who fronts the group, gives a blessing. Several persons of both sexes accompany the Virgin, one of them a man turning to look at the Child, and stretching his hand to a female in a mantle. Near these a group of bearded spectators, the foremost of whom is about to kneel. On one side a temple and two doves, and a spectator moving away. The grouping and action, as well as the draping of the figures, are fairly reminiscent of the art of the classic times.

The next subject represents the youthful Christ retiring from the temple, followed by two angels, and Joseph, Mary, and another angel meeting the procession of Herod, who advances, accompanied by John the Baptist, half naked and holding a staff. A temple closes the scene on one side.[1]

*[1] VENTURI (*op. cit.*, pp. 258-260) maintains that the subject of this representation is taken from the Pseudo-Matthew, and represents the arrival of Jesus at a city of Egypt. He comes in triumph as an emperor. The idols fall down at His approach, and a rejoicing crowd comes out of the city gate to welcome Emmanuel.

The lowest mosaic shows the three Magi questioning Herod on the coming of the new-born Messiah. The king sits in the tribunal in imperial dress, a guard at his back. Between him and the Magi, who move in a file, two priests carry the scroll of the prophecy. The closing composition is Bethlehem with the lambs, much decayed, and deprived of some figures.[1]

Along the walls of the aisle thirty-three mosaics represent scenes from the Old Testament. Nineteen to the right of the entrance portal are taken from the lives of Moses and Joshua; fourteen on the left from the story of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Entirely devoid of scriptural characters, the mosaics of the arch are also weak in narrative power. But this is not surprising at a period of manifest decline. It may seem strange indeed that at such a time artists should have been found who could still produce harmonious colour and breadth of contrast in light and shade, and give to the human shape manly character, or fair outline and proportions, combined with something of the classic in action and drapery. The degenerate taste that was creeping more and more over art is shown in the barbaric splendour of dress ornament. The subjects of the aisles gave occasion to the artist to reproduce the movements of contemporary legionaries, imitated as they had already been by the sculptor of Trajan's column. It is a curious fact that the same monument should have furnished models to the earliest Christian artists of Rome and to Raphael. But Raphael was a genius who adapted and transfigured what he saw. The mosaists feebly repeated what their immediate precursors had already copied from older craftsmen.[2]

Two figures of colossal stature in Santa Sabina at Rome symbolising the churches of the Jews and Gentiles, suggest no other remark than that they have the character of the fifth century, and recall, by good proportions, movement, and draperies, the Roman antique. Both the figures are on the wall inside the portal of the church. The first, a female in purple drapery and

*[1] The last composition has been restored.

[2] These mosaics are of the time of Sixtus III., A.D. 432-40. Those of the aisles have been damaged by time and by restorers. Some have been patched together, others are overpainted.

wearing a stole with the cross upon it, much restored and more modern in appearance than the second, which is likewise a female in Roman purple, and pointing with her right to an open book in her other hand.[1]

The mosaics of the arch of the tribune at San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura may be considered to rank amongst the masterpieces of the time of Leo I. If they were really produced, as we may well believe, between 441 and 461, which is the span of Leo's reign,[2] they reveal a more rapid decline in the practice of mosaics than of the contemporary practice of painting at Rome. Under Sixtus, Leo's immediate predecessor, the classic, we saw, had still prevailed. Under Leo at San Paolo classicism was evidently on the wane, and design seems to have had no better aim than the personifying of the might of the Redeemer, by stature and girth superior to that of the attendants.

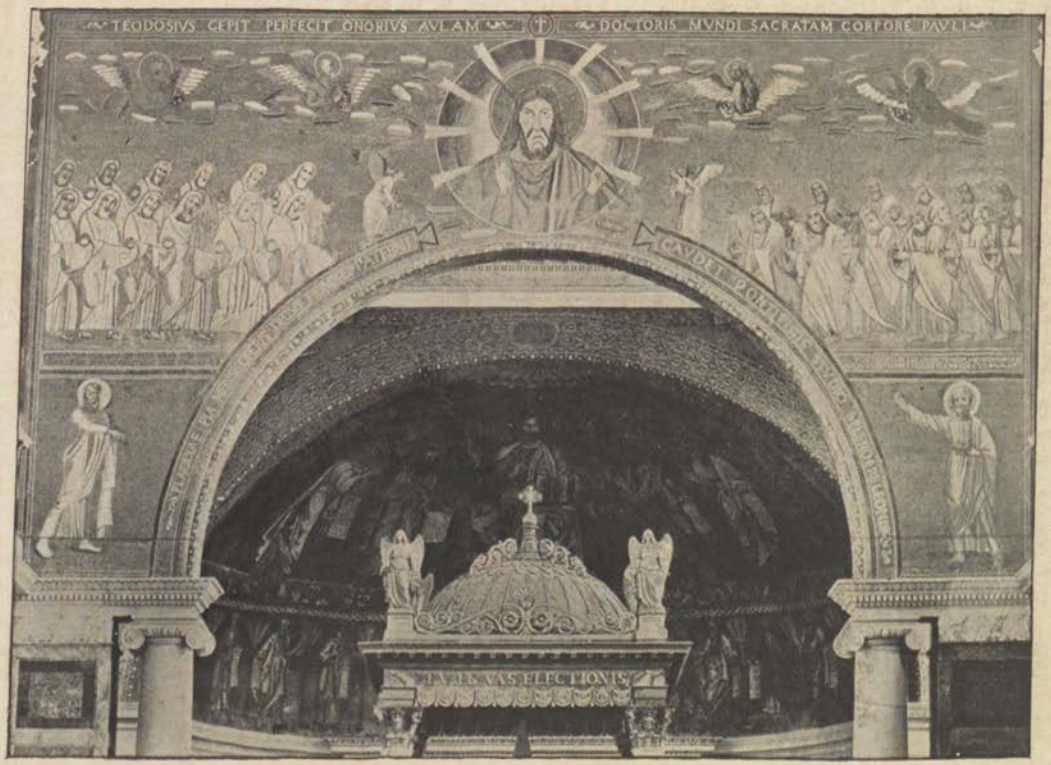
Christ in benediction at San Paolo is only visible to the breast in a nimbus of large diameter and rainbow hue. His proportions are gigantic when compared with those of all the surroundings—St. Peter and St. Paul below, the hierarchies of angels and saints at the sides, even the cross and symbols of the Evangelists above. But disproportion is not confined to the decoration, it affects the parts; and the Redeemer's hands, in benediction, or holding the pastoral staff, are paltry and small in contrast with the vast frame encased in a tunic and violet mantle, or the aged and careworn face, of which the eyebrows are mere semicircles and the nose a line. The whole face is enframed in a copious short beard, parted and brushed over the cheeks, and hair equally abundant parted also to fall in wiry lines behind the back. Nothing but symmetry is observable in the two angels who bend to the right and left, or the twenty-four who stand with offerings in their draped hands in double rows at the sides.[3]

[1] An inscription on the wall between these two figures places their execution in the time of Pope Celestine, A.D. 427–32. CIAMPINI (tome i., p. 190) tells us that the symbols of the Evangelists were here above the windows with the hand indicating the Eternal. At the sides of the windows there were prophets. All this is obliterated.

Amongst the remains of the same century at Rome are the mosaic decorations of the chapel annexed to the baptistery in S. Giovanni Laterano, the cupola of which is adorned with borders of tendrils on a blue ground, with the lamb and four doves in the centre.

*[2] Leo I. became Pope in August, 440.

[3] This figure of Christ has been very much restored. This and other parts no



CHRIST AND SAINTS

From a mosaic in the Church of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, Rome

Alinari, pho.

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It is a pity that the mosaics of the aisle should have perished, and deprived us of the means of comparing the composition and execution of gospel subjects at San Paolo with those which had been left some time before in the tribune of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Almost a century elapses between the period which witnessed the adornment of San Paolo and that which produced the mosaics of Santi Cosmo e Damiano.[1] It is a period marked by the invasion of the Goths and Vandals, the two successive sacks of Rome (455 and 472), and the fall of the Western Empire. Yet as regards the spirit in which the apsis and arch of this church were adorned, it is evident that little change had taken place in the feeling for pictorial delineation which characterised the time. The classic Roman form still struggles for mastery, and still holds sway. The four angels who stand guard on each side of the Lamb on the front of the arch differ but little from those of Santa Maria Maggiore.[2] Their short stature, their heads adorned with tufts of hair held back by cinctures, their free movements, and draperies flying in the wind still remind us of the practice peculiar to Rome, where artists still possessed considerable technical ability.

The mosaics of the apsis are less powerfully relieved than those of the arch.[3]

doubt suffered greatly during the fire of 1823, and much of the restoration is due to the injuries then inflicted.

Four fragments of mosaics representing animals, preserved in a room adjacent to the sacristy of San Paolo, may serve to give a faint idea of the original ornaments of the external front of the basilica, whilst three colossal heads of apostles, in the same place in a later style, may be useful hereafter to illustrate a foreign Greek or Byzantine element in the art of Italy in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

[1] The church was erected during the time that Felix III. was Pope of Rome (526–530).

[2] The Lamb stands on an altar with the cross above him. Three candlesticks are on one side of him, four on the other. Left and right of these are two winged angels, four in all, nimbed (blue), and standing on clouds. Of old the symbols of the Evangelists appeared above the angels. One of these, repainted anew, and symbolising St. John alone, remains on the extreme left. The arch seems to have been reduced in size during repairs, for the prophets on the lower course are cut away, and an arm with a hand and crown projects singly at each side, and indicates the place where these figures stood. This mosaic is executed on a gold ground, and has been restored.

[3] Or restoring has impaired that quality.

The Saviour, in tunic and mantle and again colossal, stands out against golden-edged clouds, stretching out his right arm in token of command and holding a scroll. A gold nimbus encircles his head, and a hand issuing from above points to him, symbolising the first person of the Trinity. At the Saviour's feet flow the waters of Jordan. Below are the Lamb, on the source of the four streams of the gospel, and the twelve sheep, six on each side, emblematic of the apostolical mission.

Although the Saviour still has a spirited attitude and regular forms, his frame and head have changed to a longer shape whilst the neck remains broad and massive, but the brow is muscularly developed, and staring eyes seem intended to inspire terror. The hair falls in regular spirals behind the shoulders, and the short beard, equally divided, leaves part of the chin bare. It is still a Roman type, but inferior to those of the earlier mosaists of Santa Pudenziana and Santa Costanza, and even to that of the painter of the San Marcellino catacomb. The draperies have lost much of their flexibility. Attendant on the Saviour, and on each side of him, there remain, on the left, St. Peter leading St. Cosmas and Pope Felix IV. bearing crowns, on the right, St. Paul leading St. Damian and St. Theodore.[1] Mosaists here make a brilliant display of enamelled colours. But their images are work of pomp and state and not of pure art; and Rome for the nonce has ceased to cultivate the study of composition, design, expression; ceased even to imitate the models of pictorial delineations bequeathed by classical predecessors.[2]

Meanwhile Rome is not only losing her supremacy in painting and sculpture; she sees a distant Italian city establishing a

[1] This apsis mosaic has been much restored. The figure of St. Felix is new. Those of St. Damian and St. Theodore are modernised. Rumohr had already noticed that these figures wore boots, whilst the Saviour is in antique dress (See RUMOHR, *It. Forschungen*, i. p. 172). The figure of St. Cosmas is preserved. Of the apostle Peter half the figure only is old. St. Paul is repainted. The best part of the mosaic is the ornament in the midst of which the Lamb stands enthroned. Note the sidelong action of figures in profile with faces fronting the spectator.

*[2] In design the mosaic of the apse is the prototype of the apse mosaics of S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, and S. Marco. In technical qualities it shows a great falling off from the earlier work at Rome and at Ravenna. The cubes are larger, and are more irregular in shape. There is less relief in the figures, and the colour scheme is cruder than in the older mosaics.

dangerous rivalry, and Ravenna, to which Honorius retires as a safer residence than Milan, becomes the political capital of Italy, where new and gorgeous churches are raised to suit the taste of a luxurious court.

When Constantine laid the foundation of the city which bears his name the arts had declined throughout the whole extent of his empire. But schools of architecture were created by his orders in various provinces; for the embellishment of his favourite residence the cities of Greece and Asia, and even of Italy, were despoiled of monuments; and Constantinople might boast of possessing the finest statues of Phidias, Lysippus, and Praxiteles. But Constantine could not revive the ideals of the Greeks, which were, indeed, no longer suitable to the declining Empire or to the development of the Christian faith. The want of a new language was felt, and with this want and the necessity of satisfying it the fall of the old and the birth of the new went hand in hand. The efforts of Constantine, therefore, only served to prolong the agony of the antique. Yet the antique in its dying moments maintained its grandeur and its majesty, and the mosaics of Ravenna are the last expression of its greatness and power.

To affirm that these mosaics are of the same class as those which were produced at Rome during the fifth century would be to place on the same level the artists of Rome and Ravenna, though it clearly appears that the latter were not only abler than their Roman contemporaries, but acquainted with Greek as well as Roman models. If it be admitted that the mosaists of Ravenna were taught in Greece or at Constantinople, it becomes evident that the efforts of Constantine to arrest the decline of art were not useless, and that he did something to renew the traditions of the antique.

The earliest manifestation of the transient revival which distinguished Ravenna in the fifth century is to be found in the octagonal baptistery which now bears the name of San Giovanni in Fonte,[1] which received its decoration some twenty-five years

*[1] For the history of the Baptistery see SANGIORGI, *Il Battistero della Basilica Ursiana di Ravenna*. Ravenna, 1900.

after its erection in the year 400.[1] It is characteristic of the mosaics which adorn this edifice that they are admirably distributed within the space which they are intended to adorn. The due subordination of the figures to the architecture, both real and feigned, which gives to the building its peculiar character, is perfect. The figures themselves are majestic, bold in movement, varied in attitude, and individual in character. They are finely designed and relieved by a broad distribution of light and shade. The ornaments which serve to set off the figures are of their kind beautiful, and the colour is both harmonious and brilliant. Seen from below, the forms of the Saviour, the apostles, and the prophets seem to have the size of life, and are therefore colossal. Yet everywhere balance and general harmony prevail. The cupola is divided into three circles, the smallest of which is the medallion centre of the vault where the baptism of the Saviour is depicted. Separated from this central mosaic by a wreath of festoons, and from each other by a beautiful ornament of growing plants, the apostles are represented in classic flying draperies, in exaggerated stride, holding crowns in their hands, and supported on a frieze formed of feigned pilasters between which alternate thrones and emblems are placed.[2] Beneath the windows and in the spring of the basement arches there are eight prophets in white raiment, surrounded by elegant foliated ornament.[3] These prophets, whose

[1] San Giovanni in Fonte was adorned with mosaics in the first half of the fifth century, it may be, by Archbishop Neon, who held the episcopal seat at Ravenna from 425 to 430. (Consult AGNELLUS in MURATORI, *Lib. Pontif*, ii., p. 58.)

* Neon was archbishop from the year 449 to the year 452. The mosaics were certainly executed by his order, as is proved by inscriptions and by his monogram, which is to be found in the decorations. Dr. Corrado Ricci infers from the inscription given in Agnello that a Roman bath had previously occupied this site. See SANGIORGI, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] Under the frieze are the windows of the Baptistery, adorned at the sides with stucco figures and ornament in no less than sixteen niches.

*[3] The latest writer on the Ravenna mosaics makes a distinction between the mosaics of the cupola and the lower mosaics of the Baptistery. He speaks of two schools of mosaists—the masters of the cupola and the masters of the archivolt. There is something to be said for his theory. But the mosaics of the archivolt have undergone such a drastic restoration, or rather renovation, that it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion. Scientific criticism will not be able to formulate final decisions on such theories until some painstaking critic sets to work to discover not only what parts of each mosaic are original, but what parts have not been

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST, AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES *Alinari, pho*
From a mosaic in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni-in-Fonte, Ravenna

garments are relieved in gold, are finely formed and classically draped, standing forth boldly, wearing mantles, holding scrolls in their hands, or declaiming. If anything is to be urged against the figures of the apostles, it might be that something of shape and proportion is sacrificed to the necessities of the space—that the heads are small for the frames; but it was quite as difficult a task to preserve faultless form in this instance as it had been in the furnace vault of the catacomb of Santi Marcellino e Pietro. The long stride and the flying draperies were necessary to fill the diverging space of the cupola. The prophets are the finest in character that had yet been produced by the art of the early centuries.

Reverting now to the Baptism in the cupola, we observe the figure of Christ facing the spectator, and standing above the knees in Jordan. The Saviour's attitude is simple, his frame well modelled. The hair, falling on the shoulders, is long and copious. Above is the dove of the Holy Ghost. St. John, on the bank to the left, with one foot raised on a stone, is pouring the water from a cup on the Saviour's head. With his left he holds a jewelled cross.[1] The attitude is noble and classic, the body a little long for the size of the head. Floating on the water to the right, looking up and holding a green cloth in both hands, Jordan—a bearded river-god holding a reed and resting on a vase—is well drawn and anatomically rendered, but robust and Herculean in shape. Ravenna, it is obvious, is now much nearer the antique source than Rome, as it clings to the idea of the river-god, which had long been abandoned elsewhere. Yet, as regards the act of baptism, the arrangement is that which prevails as late as the age of Giotto.

entirely altered in colour and design in successive restorations. One of the editors has endeavoured to do this in the case of one or two mosaics, but he has merely touched the fringe of the subject. Dr. Kurth has almost entirely avoided it. What we know, however, from early documentary evidence in regard to one or two mosaics has revealed to us in a somewhat startling fashion upon what insecure foundations a great deal of modern criticism of these mosaics rests. See KURTH, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna.* Leipzig, 1902.

[1] We may be indebted to a restorer for this strange addition to the mosaic of the baptism.

* It is now held by some competent authorities that the cross was not added by a restorer. See SANGIORGI, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

The mosaists of Ravenna, like those of Rome in the days of Constantine, worked with cubes of a large size. In the Baptistery the stones forming the outlines are of a glowing reddish tint, decisive enough to mark the shape without hardness,—the high lights of a brilliant yellow-red, the half tints a deeper shade of warm tone, the shadows of a reddish brown. The general effect is a gorgeous sunny colour.[1]

Still more classical and if possible finer than the mosaics of the Baptistery are those of the mortuary chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia.[2] In a lunette above the portal the Good Shepherd appears tending his flock, and a figure of triumphant aspect, but enigmatical meaning, faces it in the corresponding lunette of the choir. We have the symbols of the four Evangelists and prophets in the midst of appropriate emblems in the cupola and the spaces beneath it. Christian art had not as yet been illustrated by such noble representations as these. The Good Shepherd, classic in form and attitude, sits on a rock in a hilly landscape, grasping with his left hand the cross and with his right caressing the lamb. His sandalled feet are crossed. His nimbed head is covered with curly locks, and rests on a majestic neck turned towards the retreating forms of the lambs. The face is oval, the eyes are spirited, the brow vast, and the features regular. The frame is well proportioned. The blue mantle, shot with gold, admirably drapes the form. A warm, sunny glow pervades the whole figure, which is modelled in perfect relief by broad masses of golden light, of ashen half tones, and brown-red shadows. We are far

[1] In the central Baptism the head and shoulders and arm of the figure of the Saviour, the head, shoulders, and arm, the leg and foot of the Baptist and the cross in his hand have been repaired, and thus the type and character of the heads and other parts may have been altered.

[2] Now SS. Nazario e Celso.

* It is probable that the mosaics at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the mosaics of the Baptistery were executed by the same group of artists. The scroll ornament around the figures of prophets on the spandrels of the arches of the Baptistery closely resembles some of the decorative work in the transept of the Mausoleum; and some of the decorative borders and arabesques of the one building are identical with those of the other.

Since writing this note we have found that this view is supported by Dr. Julius Kurth, the latest writer upon the mosaics of Ravenna. KURTH, *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna.* Leipzig, 1902.

THE GOOD SHEPHERD

From a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna

Alinari, pho.

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A SAINT COMMITTING TO THE FLAMES A HERETICAL BOOK
From a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna

Alinari, pho.

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off the time when the Christians of the catacombs timidly ventured to depict the Shepherd and his flock in Arcadian dress. Here Christ majestic supports himself on the symbols of the redemption. His head is in a golden halo. He tends a flock, but his aspect is commanding.[1]

Of equal excellence, the mosaic of the choir represents a subject of which various interpretations have been given. A saint of grand air, in a violet tunic and white mantle, advances rapidly from the right to the centre of a room in which a large gridiron rests on a burning fire. The face and glance are bold and decisive; the features are those of a man of mature age; the hair and beard are short and bushy; the eye full of menace; the stride energetic. A golden nimbus round the head, a golden cross resting on the shoulder, sandalled feet, a volume—perhaps one of the Gospels—in the left hand: all this indicates the saintly character of the person depicted. Old authorities have thought that Christ was here intended, and that the fire is to consume one of the Gospels, some of which are on the shelves of a golden shrine at the left side of the room, inscribed MATTEUS, LUCAS, JOANNES. But it is not quite certain that this is a true interpretation of the composition.

Interesting as the principal figure is because of the doubts which assail us as to its individuality, its shape is more interesting still. In conception and execution it is as grand as the Good Shepherd, nor are the prophets in couples conversing about the arches of the cupola less worthy of admiration. The ornaments of the chapel are completed by the cross in the centre of the dome, by the symbols of the Evangelists on red clouds relieved on a blue ground, spotted with stars, by rich foliated ornament on blue ground enlivened with figures in the transept, and by the Greek initials of the Saviour in the keys of the arches. A mysterious and sombre light trickles into the edifice through four small windows in the dome.

We saw that, before retiring to Ravenna, Honorius had resided in Milan. There, too, the piety of the age left remarkable

[1] This mosaic, like all the rest in the Mausoleum, has recently been drastically restored. In some cases, notably in the dress of the Good Shepherd, the original colours have been altered. The sheep on the left of the lunette, too, is entirely new.

evidence of religious ardour in the decoration of churches; and the chapel of San Satiro remains to our day as a proof that in the fifth century mosaists were at work with great skill and success in the capital of Lombardy.[1]

If time had spared the numerous edifices with which Ravenna was adorned during the feeble reign of Valentinian, if the buildings remained which the great Theodoric erected and adorned, it might be possible to trace the decline of art in this portion of the Peninsula; but the close of the fifth century and the rise of the sixth afford no materials to the historian, and with the exception of the baptistery of Santa Maria-in-Cosmedin, there is no trace of the continuation of that classic art which so justly claims our admiration.

Santa Maria-in-Cosmedin was, under the barbaric rule, a baptistery of the Arians, but is supposed to have been adorned with mosaics after the expulsion of the Goths. The cupola of the octagon is divided into circles like that of the earlier baptistery. The same subjects adorn the dome and the circle immediately beneath it. Jordan, however, instead of floating on the water, sits on the bank to the left, partly draped in green, resting his right arm on a vase,[2] and holding a reed in his right hand.[3]

[1] The Cappella San Satiro is now incorporated into the church of St. Ambrogio at Milan. The centre of the cupola is adorned with a half length of St. Victor, whose name is inscribed on a book in the saint's grasp. The hand of the Eternal issues from above, holding a martyr's crown, the whole in a medallion on gold ground framed in a green garland. A series of feigned niches in the sides was filled with medallions containing heads, the four symbols of the Evangelists now absent, and monochrome busts of SS. Ambrose, Protasius, Felix, Maternus, and another. The style is that of the close of the fifth century, the mosaic much injured and now in course of repair.

*[2] The vase is upturned, and the river flows from it.

[3] Beneath the apostles, Peter with the keys and Paul with a scroll, stand on each side of a cushioned throne, above which is the cross. The keys and other emblems in this mosaic are possibly more modern than the rest of the figures.

The restorer has been very busy, and the time in which the body of the work was executed may be judged only from the distribution and the forms. The mosaic was certainly of earlier date than San Vitale—commenced in 541.

The rest of the apostles, in white draperies of antique style, though of somewhat angular and broken folds, come towards the throne, separated from each other—no longer by beautiful foliated ornament, but by the less graceful palm. In the Baptism, the Saviour, youthful and beardless, still distantly recalls the classic type and form.

The capture of Ravenna by Belisarius introduced Greek art anew into that capital, and the exarchs, under the orders of Justinian and his successors, either embellished the city with new monuments or old churches with new mosaics. But the art of which San Vitale is an example proves how surely the mosaists of the Eastern Empire had declined in the application of the great maxims of plastic and pictorial delineation. In knowledge of form, in type, in distribution they were inferior to their predecessors; and, as if conscious of this inferiority, they sought to restore the balance by more minute and careful execution, or by the use of the most gorgeous materials. This period of the decline may truly be called Byzantine. Its stamp was impressed on the mosaics of Ravenna during the exarchate, on some mosaics of Rome in the seventh century, and casually on paintings and mosaics in various parts of Italy at a still later period.

San Vitale, begun by Theodoric, was completed by order of Justinian, and consecrated by Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, in 547.[1] The patron saint of the basilica, St. Vitalis, was to receive the crown of the martyrs in the apsis, Justinian and Theodora their glorification in the sanctuary,[2] whilst in the solea or quadrangle at the centre of the edifice scenes of the Old Testament were represented prefiguring those incidents in the New Testament which artists had not as yet ventured to depict. In the apsis of San Vitale Christ is depicted with the smooth face of an adolescent. The universality of his rule is indicated by his seat on the blue sphere of the world, and by the imperial purple

A nimbus surrounds his head, and the dove sheds green rays upon his features. St. John, on the right, finely shaped, with long hair and beard, holds a crooked staff in his left hand, and places his right on the Saviour's head. His head i strangely adorned with the claws of a lobster. Not an uncommon symbol.

* These are not green rays, but an olive branch.

It is not the head of St. John that is thus adorned, but the head of the river-god.

[1] AGNELLUS, part ii., pp. 38, 39, in MURATORI, *Rer., Ital., Script.*, and J. DE RUBEIS, *Hist. Ravennæ*, lib. iii., p. 541.

* San Vitale was erected by Julianus Argentarius at the order of the Archbishop Ecclesius (521–534). Strzygowski has shown that Justinian planned the whole cycle See STRZYGOWSKI, *Ursprung und sieg der altbyz. Kunst* (*Byz. Denkmäler, III.*).

*[2] The giving of the crown to St. Vitalis is in the vault of the apse. Justinian and Theodora are represented on either side.

of his robes. A solemn gaze from large and very open eyes seems intended to produce a feeling of awe in the spectator. But the forms betray the decline of art. The nose is bent, the mouth small, copious short hair covers the head, which is surrounded by a cruciform nimbus adorned with jewels. In the left hand is the book with the seven seals. A crown is extended in the right to the bending form of St. Vitalis, who holds out his arms, covered with the drapery of his mantle. An angel in white, with a silver staff and silver nimbus, seems to protect the martyr by laying a hand on his shoulder. A similar figure on the right, also protected by an angel, indicates Bishop Ecclesius with a model of a church in his hand. Red and blue clouds float over the golden ground above the group, and an ornament of cornucopias serve as a frame to the picture. The Saviour's feet rest on a sward[1] barely covering the rocky ground, out of which the four rivers flow. On the arch above him the Greek monogram is inscribed.

Justinian and Theodora are represented in state in two mosaics on the sides of the sanctuary. Justinian, with a golden halo, imperial purple, and diadem, holds a basin of gold; on his left stands Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna. Between them a bareheaded dignitary, with straggling locks, and two priests. On Justinian's right three courtiers and a bodyguard with round shields complete the group. On the opposite side of the sanctuary the Empress Theodora, also in imperial purple and jewelled diadem, holds a gold basin, and is followed by a suite of seven persons in variegated costume. Nothing can be more remarkable than the portraits in these mosaics. Justinian's thin nose, heavy cheeks, and ill-humoured mouth, his angular brows and broad forehead, covered with stray hairs, seem but too truthful an imitation of nature. Theodora, with her broad face, long nose, thin lips, and arched eyes and brow, her slender neck and form, Maximian's long head and cunning eye, are equally characteristic, yet strangely in contrast with the conventional immobility produced by the stiffness of the frames, the limbs, and the small pointed feet. The masses of light and shade are fairly indicated, and the colours well and harmoniously distributed, and profuse ornament gives a sheen to the picture; but the art displayed is formal and stiff.

The solea is ornamented with mosaics. Two angels on the face of the

*[1] The Saviour's feet do not rest on the sward. They do not come below the globe on which He sits.

THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN OFFERING MONEY FOR THE BUILDING OF SAN VITALE *Alinari, pho.*

From a mosaic in the Church of S. Vitale, Ravenna

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arch leading into the sanctuary, flying in exaggerated motion, hold a medallion inclosing the symbol of the cross; and at their feet Jerusalem and Bethlehem sparkle with gems. An ornament of vine tendrils issuing from vases fills the space. An arch also divides the solea from the nave, and in the key of its vaulting the Saviour, of the usual type and form, wearing a stole over his purple tunic, is represented in a medallion with twelve apostles, and St. Protasius and St. Gervasius in similar frames below him. The screens of the solea, under the arches of which the spectator wanders into the transepts, are adorned with episodes of the Old Testament. In the recess above the lower course of arches to the right, Abel, in shepherd's dress, offers up the firstling lamb, while Melchisedek blesses the bread. On the face of the arch Moses, twice repeated, pets a lamb, and unties his sandals,[1] and Isaiah prophesies. These episodes are crowned by two angels in flight, holding between them the medallion of the cross. Above the arches of the gallery on the same side, the Evangelists Mark and John[2] are depicted, and the rest of the wall is filled with an ornament of vases and doves. In the screen to the left, and similarly distributed, Abraham carries food to the three angels, whilst Sarah, like an antique matron, stands smiling at the door. Again the sacrifice of Isaac is arrested by the hand of the Lord. On the wall above, Jeremiah stands prophesying, and Moses receives the tables of the law. Two angels here also soar aloft, and hold between them the medallion of the cross. In the uppermost spaces sit the Evangelists Luke and Matthew,[3] with their symbols. The cupola is divided by diagonals, leaving spaces for four angels, each of whom supports on his extended arms a central medallion inclosing the Lamb.[4]

San Vitale shows that in the course of a few years the spirit of the antique which lingered in Ravenna had almost passed away. A reminiscence of old classic forms may still be noticed, but it is united to a naturalism which confined itself entirely to expression, and which seemed to assist in killing form, movement, and relief. Yet with naturalism we have also a childish neglect of the reality in buildings which have no relation in size to the figures, and perspective which inverts the rules of a science at that time unknown

*[1] Moses is represented firstly as a shepherd, and secondly as taking off his shoes on Mount Horeb.

*[2] Not John, but Matthew. *[3] Not Matthew, but John.

*[4] On the angels of the cupola, see STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom*, pp. 26–28.

to painters. When Abraham brings food to the three angels, the lines of the table at which they sit converge to a point between the table and the spectator. The roast which Abraham carries is an entire ox on a dish. But the ox is but one-fifth the size of Abraham himself. In earlier Roman mosaics—for instance, in S. Maria Maggiore—nature was more closely followed than this; for there the angels take of the meat which Abraham has brought and set upon the table. Besides, the figures in S. Vitale are generally feeble, disproportioned, and abruptly contrasted in the passage from light to shade, and confined by black outlines. It is possible to distinguish the high lights by the side of reddish half tints and greenish-grey shadows. Yet in the distribution and choice of ornament, and in harmony of colour, the scales of tones are bright and the chords of tinting good, and for this alone the artists of S. Vitale would still be worthy of admiration.[1]

Were the decorations of this church a solitary example of the art of its time, it might be considered unsafe to pronounce a decisive opinion as to the general degeneracy which prevailed, but, in addition to the mosaics of San Michele in Affricisco,[2] the

[1] It must be borne in mind that these mosaics have been altered by restoration at different periods. The dress and nimbus of the Saviour in the apsis have been restored. The head of St. Maximian in the sanctuary is partly new. The heads of Christ and the apostles in the medallions of the archivolt (entrance to the nave) are much damaged by repair. The Evangelists in the quadrangle, or solea, are almost ruined. The mosaics of Justinian and Theodora are excessively rich in gilt ornament and jewellery, the ground gold in most parts. The ornaments on the arch leading into the sanctuary are on a blue ground. The ornaments of the ceiling of the cupola are in gold.

[2] San Michele in Affricisco was consecrated in 545. The mosaics of the semidome and arch were bought at Venice in 1847 by Prince Charles of Prussia, and packed in five cases, which were deposited shortly after in the Hofban depôt at Berlin. Since then we have seen them unpacked, but with the stones still loose. From an outline sketch which accompanied the cases, we perceive that the subjects are the following: In the centre of the semidome is Christ, youthful and beardless, holding a slender cross and the book, between the archangels Michael and Gabriel. In the border, arabesques are intermingled with doves, and in the key of the arch is a medallion with the Lamb. On the arch above, Christ enthroned as judge, bearded, and giving the benediction. His footstool stands on a stream which flows at the base of the picture. At the Saviour's sides two angels with sceptres, and at the sides of these three and four angels blowing trumpets. In the spandrels are St. Cosmas and St. Damian.

* These mosaics will be placed in the new Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

THE EMPRESS THEODORA MAKING OFFERINGS TO THE CHURCH *Alinari, pho.*

From a mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna

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remains of which have been transferred to the museum of Berlin, Ravenna possessed other monuments contemporary to S. Vitale; and the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, completed in 547,[1] contains mosaics which are with some exceptions of a style similar to the first that had been completed under the exarchate.

Near the altar is a figure of the Saviour, juvenile and beardless, with long hair cut straight across his forehead, and features exactly resembling those of the Redeemer in the apsis of San Vitale.[2] On his right shoulder he carries the cross, and in his left hand an open book, on which these words are written: EGO SUM VIA VERITAS ET VITA. His dress is that of a warrior, his attitude a distant imitation of the splendid one in the choir of the chapel of Galla Placidia.[3] Here, indeed, the contrast between the mosaists of the fifth and sixth centuries at Ravenna may be watched, and it is possible to mark the decline from classic form, bold movement, and splendid drapery to conventionalism and immobility. The vaults of two arches which span the waggon roof of the chapel are filled with medallion busts of the Saviour in the centre and three similar busts of apostles at each side. Both heads of the Saviour (one near the door is now restored vertically to the extent of half of the figure) are of the same type and form as that of the apsis of San Vitale. Of the busts representing male and female saints on blue ground on the vaultings and sides of the two windows the greater part are now repaired and repainted.[4] The symbols of the Evangelists in the ceiling

* [1] Dr. Corrado Ricci holds that this chapel was erected by S. Pier Crisologo, and dates from the first half of the fifth century. The mosaics themselves offer some evidence in support of the view that S. Pier Crisologo was its founder. (1) In an arch in the chapel is the monogram of the name Petrus in mosaic. (2) Amongst the saints represented in the chapel is St. Cassian, the patron saint of Imola, to whom S. Pier Crisologo was singularly devoted, as being the patron saint of his native city. It is held that the inferiority of these mosaics to the other mosaics at Ravenna of the first half of the fifth century is due to extensive and clumsy restorations.

[2] On a wall are represented St. Barbatianus and St. Ursinus. But these, and the figure of the Virgin between them, are mosaics transferred to their present position in 1745 from the tribune of the cathedral of the Duomo of Ravenna, and they date from the year 1125, when they were ordered by the archbishop Geremia. See FABRI, *Le sagre Memorie di Ravenna antica* (vers 1664), p. 2. They may be neglected except so far as they illustrate the art of the twelfth and not that of the sixth century.

[3] The lower half of the figure is restored.

[4] These saints are, in one window, SS. Sebastian, Fabian, Damian, Cassian, Chrysogonus, and Chrysanthus, in the other SS. Eufemia, Eugenia, Cecilia, Duria, Perpetua, and Felicity. In the key of the arch of each window is the monogram of Christ.

near the door have so far shared the same fate that one of them, that of St. John with a human head, is entirely new and coloured, whilst the angels in the diagonals supporting the central medallion with the monogram of Christ have all undergone restoration also.

The state to which the mosaics of Sant' Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna have been reduced is calculated to puzzle the spectator.[1] Yet in the midst of the ruins the art peculiar to the first period of the exarchate may still be traced. In some heads and figures the reminiscence of the old style is preserved, and a certain breadth of treatment may be conceded, whilst in one composition at least, that of Abel offering the firstling lamb before Melchizedek, the conception recalls a similar scene in San Vitale.

Sant' Apollinare in Classe was built by the treasurer Julian in 534,[2] and consecrated by Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, in 549. The basilica was dedicated to St. Apollinaris, and the figure of that saint occupies a splendid place in the tribune; but the seat of honour was still reserved for the representation of the Saviour, whose head is depicted, in the curve of the apsis, in the centre of a cross, inclosed in a blue nimbus containing the Greek name of the Redeemer, the Alpha and Omega, and the words SALUS MUNDI. This head of the Saviour is of fine outline. The divided hair, which falls nobly down on the shoulders, and a long beard inclose a face of regular features. The hand of the Lord points downwards from the key of the arch, and seems to issue from a red circle studded with precious stones. On each side of the cross Moses and Elias hover in a golden heaven studded with clouds. St. Apollinaris, nimbed, with outstretched arms, presents himself colossal in the space between the curve of the apsis and the windows of the tribune, and looks up reverently to heaven.[3] At his sides the space is divided into three courses—the first[4] containing a Christian flock of twelve sheep, the second rocks and trees, the third three sheep, symbolising the three sleeping disciples of the Transfiguration—separated from

[1] A close inspection of the various figures and episodes which fill the apsis, the tribune, and the arch of the tribune reveals not merely restoration on a large scale, but repairs executed with materials unknown to the mosaist. A large part of the left side of the apsis is repainted on stucco; and the same may be said of most of the figures and inscriptions in the tribune and arch.

*[2] S. Apollinare in Classe was probably begun between the years 535 and 538.

*[3] He does not look up, but gazes straight before him.

*[4] That is the lowest course.

each other by trees. Between the four windows of the apsis stand the figures of the four bishops—Ursinus, Ursus, Severus, and Ecclesius, the head of the latter being amongst the best preserved in the whole basilica —all of them standing under niches with a little dais over the heads. To the right[1] of the windows the sacrifices of Abel, Melchizedek, and Abraham are represented in one picture; Melchizedek sitting gravely behind the table, whilst Abraham presents Isaac, and Abel the firstling lamb in the presence of the Lord, whose hand, as usual, appears above the scene. The figure of Abel, now ruined by restoration, is similar in movement to that in San Vitale.

To the left of the window[2] the tender of privileges to the church of Ravenna is depicted, but the subject, as well as the *dramatis personæ* and the execution, prove that the work is by an artist of the close of the seventh century. An archbishop, to whom the name of Maximian has been erroneously given, stands in the centre of the mosaic, whilst in front of him an emperor, in purple and white, hands him a scroll bearing the word PRIVILEGIA. To the right of the archbishop are three priests bearing fire, incense, and a censer. To the left of the emperor three figures in yellow drapery, all of them in stiff and motionless attitudes and overlapping each other, as in the glorification of Justinian at San Vitale. This scene has been considered to illustrate the relations of Maximian to the Byzantine Court. The archbishop and the four figures to his right have nimbs. A modern inscription, doubtless following an older one which perished,[3] declares that Constantine (? Constantine IV.), Heraclius, and Tiberius "*imperatores*" are present at the ceremony. As the archbishop is indicated by syllables of the name "Reparatus," he is doubtless the primate who received privileges from Constantine Pognatus, one of the Cæsars of Constantinople, and the emperor's brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, at the close of the seventh century.[4]

On the arch of the tribune a medallion bust of the Saviour is placed. The Redeemer, in his purple robes, gives the benediction, holds a book. His hair and beard are long, but the features are not as calm and regular as are those of the Saviour in the cross

*[1] This picture is on the south side of the apse.

*[2] This picture is on the north side of the apse, near the nave.

*[3] Agnellus states that the inscription was in existence in his day. He tells us that the archbishop went to Constantinople to seek privileges for the Church at Ravenna.

[4] Compare GREGOROVIUS, *Geschichte der Stadt Rome* (2nd ed., Stuttg.), 1869, ii., p. 163.

of the apsis. Muscular developments in the forehead, a brow knit by thought, staring eyes, a nose bent at the end, proclaim the progress of a more modern feeling.

On the front of the arch Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the twelve apostles in the form of sheep, two palms, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, St. Matthew and St. Luke, are represented.[1]

In the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo the pictures of the nave are preserved, whilst those of the apsis and arch have disappeared. The basilica, originally built in the time of

[1] Sant' Apollinare in Classe. First the mosaics of the centre of the apsis. The white tunic of Moses is repainted. Half the face, from the nose downwards, and both the hands of Elias are restored. The head of St. Apollinaris is damaged, the left hand and lower part of the figure destroyed. The sheep are modern. A large part of the left side of the apsis is repainted. Of the four bishops between the windows of the tribune the head of Ecclesius is preserved, the lower part repainted. The head of St. Ursinus is new, and the lower half of the figure is restored. Half the head, from the eyes upwards, and part of the arms of Abel are repainted. The figures of Abraham and Isaac are repainted. This mosaic is repaired in two different ways—with white cubes coloured over and with painted stucco. In the mosaic representing the tender of the privileges the nimbs are new, but besides, the lower part of all the figures is repainted on stucco, and the heads are all more or less repaired. Of the figures on the arch, that of the archangel Gabriel is half ruined and half restored, and part of St. Matthew and St. Luke are new. All these repairs are of various periods, the latest, that of Battista Ricci, completed, as is vouched by an inscription behind the organ, on the 10th of May, 1816. The great nave of Sant' Apollinare in Classe either was never adorned with mosaics, or they were removed to make room for a series of portraits of dignitaries of the church of Ravenna.

* In the Biblioteca Classense at Ravenna we have found an interesting manuscript account of the mosaics of S. Apollinare in Classe by Frate Vitale Acquedotti. Accompanying Acquedotti's account is a drawing, tinted in part in water-colour, of the mosaics which represents Archbishop Reparatus receiving *privilegia* from Constantine Pognatus. This drawing, which has escaped the notice of writers upon these mosaics, is most important as showing what a small part of these mosaics at all resembles the original decorations of the apse. Fiacchi, who was the first librarian of the Biblioteca Classense, and flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century, states, in the note accompanying his sketch, what was the kind of treatment that the mosaics were then subjected to. He speaks of "the very inopportune and indiscreet devotion of the public," who, "with stick and canes," knocked down pieces composing this mosaic to bear them away as mementoes of their visit to the basilica. From Fiacchi's drawings we see that of more than half the figures composing the picture only the head, and in some cases a portion of the shoulders, was then in existence. Style-critics would do well to consult this drawing before publishing their views as to the age of the various portions of the existing mosaic. See Biblioteca Classense, *Cod. Class.*, No. 689 bis; Mob. 3. 1. 2[2].

CHRIST AND FOUR ANGELS

A detail from a mosaic in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Alinari, pho.

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Alinari, pho.

FROM A PORTION OF THE MOSAIC OF THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI AND THE TWENTY-TWO VIRGINS

From a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

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Theodoric, appears to have received its final adornments in the reign of Justinian and under the auspices of Agnellus, Archbishop of Ravenna. Mosaic portraits of both those dignitaries were placed on the wall above the portal, and though one of these has disappeared, that of Justinian still remains, and is now preserved in the Cappella di Tutti Santi. The mosaics that cover the three courses of the nave are still remarkable for judicious distribution of space, but the figures have hardly any bond of union, being placed in rows without relation to their neighbours or to the general composition. But Sant' Apollinare Nuovo is remarkable because the numerous episodes of the life of the Saviour, which fill the upper spaces of the nave, comprise for the first time several subjects of the Passion.

The right side of the nave is entirely covered with scenes from the history of the Redeemer. Above the first series of arches twenty-six martyrs, bearing crowns, issue from the palace of Ravenna (Palatium), and are formed in a single front line extending to the side of the Saviour, who sits enthroned between four angels. A palm separates the martyrs from each other. Manuscript records in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo state that as late as 1580 this procession, if it deserves that name, was headed by St. Stephen, who, with his right arm extended, introduced to the Saviour St. Martin and his company. As the mosaic now stands, the figure of St. Stephen is gone, and the space which he occupied has been filled up by the total renewal, on a larger scale, of one of the angels at the Saviour's side. The same records affirm that the Saviour was represented on a throne between four angels, and held a book in his left hand.[1] As the figure now stands, it holds not a book, but a

[1] The restoration of the figure of the Saviour and the alteration of the distribution of the space are evident at first sight. A MS. in folio, preserved in the records of the church, and written in 1580 by Father Giovanni Francesco Malazappi da Carpi, gives, at page 45, the description of the mosaics as narrated in the text.[1] The absence of one saint in the procession of martyrs is evident from a comparison with that of the females on the other side. Twenty-four of these, with the three Magi, complete the number of twenty-seven. The spaces are similarly divided on both sides. Hence it was obvious that one saint on the right side had disappeared, as without him the number would be reduced to twenty-six. But besides, the memorandum above quoted mentions each saint by name, the first nearest the Saviour being St. Stephen, the second St. Martin, and so on with the rest. The names of the saints are still inscribed, and St. Martin is now the nearest the Saviour.

*[1] One of the present editors, with the aid of Signor Silvio Bernicoli, the learned

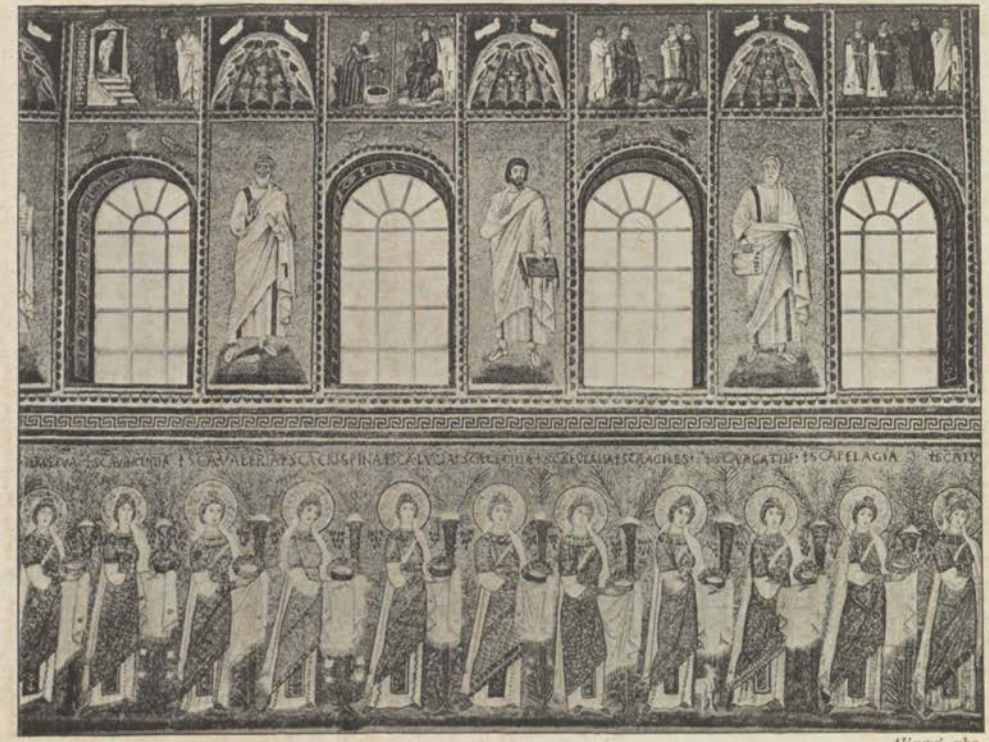
sceptre. Judging from that portion of the Saviour which remains, we may admit that he looks majestic and commanding. His purple tunic and mantle of different shades nobly drape the body and limbs. The head, framed by rich locks of hair and a forked beard, is of a fine outline. The features are regular, though somewhat aged; the forehead and brow open; the eyes fairly expressive, though a little staring. The nose, on the other hand, being a little bent at the end, betrays the Byzantine decline. The model is one of the best which the sixth century produced, and, though slightly differing in movement, might rival those of the catacomb of Santi Marcellino e Pietro at Rome. The angels at the sides are, with one exception, of the long, slender Byzantine type. The second course of mosaics, above the procession of martyrs, comprises a series of sixteen prophets in niches between eleven arched windows, some of which, being walled up, are filled with ornament, whilst on the ground above the niches, peacocks, partridges, and other birds are depicted.

A procession of female martyrs, similar in movement and arrangement to that which advances to honour the Saviour, moves on the opposite side of the nave to adore the Virgin. It appears to have started from the city of Classis, the port of Ravenna. The Virgin sits enthroned opposite the Saviour between four angels, and receives the adoration of the Magi. A nimbus of gold encircles her head, which is covered with the folds of her mantle. Her form is of the developed Byzantine proportions, which already mark the decline of art. The infant Saviour, seated on her lap, and fronting the spectator, gives the blessing; whilst the three Magi advance with bending attitudes in simple file to her right. The baronial caps on their heads are a modern substitution for the crowns which they once wore, as may be seen by the grotesque novelty of this part of their costume.[1] The angels guarding the Virgin were doubtless like those by the side of the Saviour, but, with the exception of one, they have lost all antique character under the hands of restorers.

archivist of Ravenna, has searched the local archives and the communal library for this manuscript, but without success. The manuscripts formerly at S. Apollinare Nuovo have been scattered. Only a portion of them are in the Ravenna Archives.

It is suggested that the name "Malazappi" ought to read "Malazampa."

[1] FLAMINIO DI PARMA, in *Memorie storiche de' conventi e chiese dei Frati minori della Provincia di Bologna* (Parma, 1760), describes these mosaics, and alludes to the crowns then covering the heads of the Magi (p. 290). In the time of Ciampini (p. 176) the Magi still had crowns, as may be seen in the engraving of that author; but these heads and crowns, as Flaminio states, were even in Ciampini's time painted restorations (FLAMINIO, *u.s.*, p. 292). The heads, with



Alinari, pho.

FROM A PORTION OF THE MOSAIC OF THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI AND THE TWENTY-TWO VIRGINS
From a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

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The second course on this side is also filled, like its counterpart on the opposite side of the aisle, with figures of sixteen prophets in niches.

The third and uppermost course of mosaics in the aisle is narrower than the two lower ones. To the left as you enter the portal thirteen spaces are filled with scenes from the life and miracles of Christ. To the right fifteen similar spaces contain subjects of the Passion. Of the first the subjects are: (1) Christ heals the palsied man; (2) He cures the man possessed of a devil; (3) He cures the palsied man who was let down through the roof of the house; (4) He divides the sheep from the goats; (5) The widow's mite; (6) The Pharisee and the Publican; (7) Lazarus standing up in his winding sheet at the bidding of Christ; (8) Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well; (9) The sinning woman wiping Christ's feet with her hair; (10) Christ heals the two blind; (11) Christ calls Peter and Andrew from their boat; (12) He lays hands on a fish and two loaves; (13) He lays hands on four baskets of fragments.

Of the second the subjects beginning at the east end are: (1) The Last Supper, where Christ and the apostles are recumbent on couches round a semicircular table; (2) Christ with the eleven after the agony in the garden; (3) Judas drawing near to kiss Christ; (4) The capture; (5) Christ before the high priest, who sits between two elders in front of a portico; (6) Christ tells Peter that he will deny him; (7) Peter denying Christ; (8) Judas repentant; (9) Christ brought before Pilate, who washes his hands; (10) Christ on the road to Golgotha; (11) The Marys at the tomb; (12) Christ and the disciples at Emmaus; (13) Christ appears to the eleven after the resurrection.

As we observed at San Vitale, so we observe here, the mosaists are unacquainted with perspective, or the relative proportions of figures and their surroundings. Their art is simple and rude, but there is unmistakable meaning in it, and reminiscences of the

baronial caps, are now restored in mosaic, a proof of the numerous successive changes which these works have undergone. The mosaics were in the hands of restorers as late as 1861.

* But there is ancient precedent for these baronial caps. On an early sarcophagus in the Ravenna Museum, the sarcophagus of Isaachius, the Magi are represented with these Phrygian caps, as they are in the frescoes of S. Urbano a Caffarella, in the mosaics of S. Vitale, and in several other early mosaics and frescoes. The crowns were substituted, it is believed, for Phrygian caps in some earlier restoration.

The sarcophagus of Isaachius is an old Greek sarcophagus of the fifth century, which was used for the burial of this Exarch, who died about the middle of the seventh century.

classic are still to be found in dress, drapery, and movement. In the Passion scenes the Saviour is of mature age, in the miracles he is youthful. The Crucifixion is carefully avoided. The cross carried to Golgotha is not borne by the Saviour, and appears merely as a small emblem in the hands of a soldier. When Christ is supposed to be accompanied by his disciples the artist generally gives him but one attendant. Art has yet a great stride to take before attaining the power displayed by later Christian painting.

The portrait of Justinian in the Tutti Santi chapel is now reduced to the head and bust. The former, covered with a diadem and adorned with a couple of jewels pendant like cherries from the ears, is older, fatter, and more square than that of San Vitale, but similar in features. The colours of those mosaics, in places less injured by restoring than others, are chosen with the knowledge of harmony and the feeling for massive light and shade which characterise the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome.[1] With the close of the sixth century the importance of Ravenna came to an end. Art maintained itself in that, as in most Italian cities, at a modest standard which might satisfy humble wants, but could leave no monument of considerable interest to posterity.

It remains to speak of the miniaturists, whose works may afford examples illustrating the spread of art in Italy. Yet such specimens of these as exist are only interesting as showing the predominance of antique types, or peculiar technical modes of execution amongst a particular class of craftsmen.

We note in a parchment at the Vatican[2] representing scenes from the life of Joshua character very similar to that of the reliefs on the column

[1] Between the sixth and seventh centuries may be classed the mosaics of the side chapel in the church of S. Lorenzo of Milan representing Christ, amongst the apostles in niches, and the sacrifice of Isaac, much damaged by restoring.

[2] Parchment, thirty feet long, in the Library of the Vatican. See AGINCOURT, v., Pl. xxviii., xxix., xxx., for engravings of some of these miniatures. The compositions are generally good and animated, and some attitudes are quite artistic. Defects of anatomy in the extremities may be frequently noticed. The technical execution is that of a water-colour of light transparent tones. The drawing, which may be seen where parts of the miniature have been rubbed down, is laid in with a brush, not with a point, and the system is not that which can be found in later miniatures.

of Trajan, the compositions recalling early Christian art at Rome, Joshua being constantly recognisable by his nimbus, tall stature, face, and warrior's dress. A rapid and sketchy execution in thin water-colour of light rosy tones, freely carried out with the brush in the Pompeian style; all this, combined with some defects of anatomy and coarseness of extremities, reveals an artist of the earlier times. Yet an inscription on the parchment would lead us to assign the pictures to the ninth century.

Vignette miniatures of still more classical forms, interspersed among the leaves of an old MS. of Virgil at the Vatican, and a Homer in the Ambrosiana at Milan, are quite in the character of the Roman art of the fifth century.[1]

[1] Rome, Library of the Vatican, MSS. No. 3225.

The colour is laid on with great impasto, of a general red tone in the flesh tints. The lights of the draperies are touched in gold. The forms, though imitated from the antique, are not without defects, and the eyes particularly are large, round, and staring.

Allusion is made only to those parts of the Homer which are not damaged or retouched.

* For a description of these MSS., see VENTURI, *op. cit.*, tom. i., pp. 304-328. For reproductions of the miniatures, see tom. i., pp. 137-140.

Dr. Wickhoff has discussed the Virgil miniatures in his *Die Wiener Genesis*, where he justly asserts the continuity of the Roman school. The learned critic is less entirely convincing when he contends for its independence of Greek influence. His theories on this subject have been disproved by Strzygowski, who is the first living authority on the art of Byzantium and the near East. See STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom.* Leipzig, 1901. Mrs. Arthur Strong has published an admirable translation of Dr. Wickhoff's book. WICKHOFF, *Roman Art.* London, Heinemann, 1900.

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN ART FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

CONSTANTINE, who had earned well-deserved credit as a judicious promoter of the arts, bequeathed his power to successors who found that something more was required than protection and favour to stem the rapid current of a decline which, in spite of earlier efforts, threatened to set in. The partial revival displayed in the mosaics of Ravenna may be accepted as proving that extensive privileges conceded to artists as late as the reign of Valentinian I. contributed greatly to the restoration of antique tradition. Yet, after all, these effects were transient, and it soon became evident that the revival was a mere flicker of a flame which was nearly expiring when replenished by the later Tuscans.

In Rome painting and mosaic continued to display traditional forms. The names of artists remained obscure. Christian compositions, grafted at first and in a few rare examples on the imitation of the antique, gradually settled into a permanent mould. Types were changed without being improved, form became daily more defective, and the technical processes of painting were to some extent transformed. A new Greek or Byzantine art then appears in the south of Italy, displaying rudeness and defects equal to those of Rome. Sicily shines for an instant with unwonted brilliancy, and displays in a fine series of mosaics powers of a high class. This momentary improvement is succeeded by a new period of darkness, during which Rome again takes the lead and keeps it till Tuscany asserts a well-marked superiority above every rival.[1]

* [1] This paragraph well illustrates, as we shall see, the extraordinary acumen of the authors. Here, as in so many questions relating to later Italian art, they

The decline of painting at Rome is most conspicuous in the catacomb paintings which illustrate the practice of the seventh, eighth, or even the ninth centuries. The fashion of representing the Saviour in supernatural proportions has been carried from the tribunes of basilicas to the baptisteries of subterranean chapels, and this is amply illustrated in two busts of Christ of the seventh or a later century in the catacomb of St. Pontianus, of which the earliest almost covers the whole of one of the walls near the baptismal font. A cruciform, jewelled nimbus encircles an oval head, in which correctness of proportions and breadth of forehead are marred by the mechanical outlines with which large staring eyes are mapped out under rope-like indications of brows, and above other rope-like lines which mark a moustache. Nose and mouth are regular; the hair falls in masses along the sides of a bull-like neck, and the bare chin is fringed at the throat with a short growth of beard. The right hand shows four tapering fingers; the left is not seen, or has perished with part of the vellum of the gospels which it may be supposed to hold. All this was rapidly thrown, in the old method of Roman tempera, on a rough-coated wall with flesh of a ruddy yellow tinge, rouged on the lips and cheeks.

Lower down in the same catacomb we enter the baptismal chapel, faintly illumined by reflected light, and we observe an imitation of a doorway on the wall, and, above it, remnants of a Baptism of the Saviour, roughly sketched and painted in the old technical style, but essentially different in conception from those which have been noticed at Ravenna. The Redeemer is naked up to his middle in water, with a nimbed head of regular features inclosed by long falling hair and a small beard. St. John, standing on a bank to the right and holding a reed, rests a hand on the Saviour's head, as in the baptistery of Santa Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna. But instead of the river-god floating on the water or sitting on the bank, remains of an angel are seen on

anticipated the results of the researches of modern scholars. The recent discoveries at S. Maria Antiqua and S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere entirely confirm the statements in the above paragraph. Genuine discoverers in the field of Italian art history admit with Dr. Ludwig, the most eminent of them all, that they are continually finding that Crowe and Cavalcaselle have anticipated, or in some measure foreshadowed, their discoveries.

the left, holding a cloth. The form of the Saviour is still good in its attention and attitude; the composition is still fair, but one peculiarity may be remarked which diminishes its effect. The Saviour receives the baptism in a ditch. Yet artists of later centuries, those even who might lay claim to some repute, failed to alter this form of composition.[1]

More characteristic, as showing the degeneracy of painters in the eighth and ninth centuries, is the second bust of the Saviour, to which reference has already been made—a bust of a man of mature age—with a cruciform nimbus and a jewelled book in his hand. Here the artist has sketched out with dark lines on a roughly prepared wall a form and face different from those of previous times, but frequently met with in the eighth and ninth centuries, and even in the thirteenth. Hitherto the Saviour's head had been regular, though the features had in the course of time undergone change. During the predominance of antique feeling the long flowing hair served to give the head an agreeable outline. Now the features and their contours and the lie of the locks are changed for the worse. The painters of the Pontian catacomb produce a face almost as broad as it is long, with arched brows, staring eyes, a nose with a projecting ball, a prominent cheek-bone, and a small chin. A vast mass of hair, divided in the middle, with two locks pendant on the centre of the forehead, forms a circle round the face. A small straggling beard covers the under part of the chin. The right hand, raised in the act of benediction, is formless. The draperies have lost all breadth and sweep of fold, and the yellow flesh tone is rounded off into narrow strips of dark shadow.[2]

[1] The angel is all but gone. At its feet on the bank is a stag or deer in profile. The three figures have the nimbus. Above the Saviour are indistinct tracings of what once no doubt was the dove of the Holy Ghost. St. John wears sandals and a dress of some yellow skin, which exposes his frame and legs. The flesh tones are light and warm, the outlines heavily marked. But large flakes of coloured surface have fallen away from this painting, which is rapidly decaying. (See photos in Pl. viii. of J. H. PARKER'S "Catacombs," part xii. of *The Archæology of Rome.*)

* Dr. Wilpert's forthcoming work on the catacombs will contain descriptions and representations of the frescoes in the catacombs of St. Pontianus.

[2] This large bust of the Saviour was discovered thirty or forty years ago on the side of the vaulted recess where the Baptism is depicted. It is painted on a very rough surface, and the lower part of the painting, including a portion of the hands,

As the eighth century closed, even the majesty of the Redeemer is forgotten in a chaos of dark outlines and false forms, and the Saviour, as depicted in the chapel of St. Cecilia in the catacomb of St. Callixtus, is only worthy of attention as exhibiting with a certain solemnity the complete prostration of the art of the time.[1] Nor was this state of collapse in painting of short duration or confined to Rome. It may be traced along the whole of Italy, from Rome to Naples in the south, and to Verona in the north, and is equally apparent in remains of old wall paintings representing the Saviour and other saints in the crypt of Sant' Ansano at Spoleto, St. Curtius and St. Desiderius in the catacombs of Naples, a Virgin and Child in the crypt of Santi Cosmo e Damiano at Rome, and a subterranean chapel near Santi Nazzaro e Celso at Verona, in which a St. Mark of early date is accompanied by later wall paintings of the Baptism of Christ and saints and apostles.

Mosaists meanwhile, following the same course as painters, confined themselves to the reproduction of the simplest subjects, such as the Saviour and the Virgin in majesty, and they seemed

has fallen. The colour of the draperies is almost gone, but the mantle bears traces of blue and the tunic of red. The nimbus is yellow at the outer rim, with a simple cross on a light blue ground. Part of the left eye and of the chin of the figure are gone. The outlines, though strongly marked, are not black. Beneath the bust was the inscription: ✠ DE DONIS DĪ GAUDIOSUS FECIT.

Yet if this be a poor example of the spirit left in Roman art it is not the poorest. The chapel of St. Milix and St. Pymenius in the same catacomb contains two coarse figures of those saints standing at each side of a cross painted in imitation of jewelled gold, which are but rude and almost formless effigies in classic dress, but with shapeless hands and staring eyes. The colour of the flesh is a species of yellow-red. Equally defective is a row of figures standing erect in the same catacomb, and betraying the usual absence of shadow drawing, of form, and of thought; they represent St. Peter, St. Marcellinus, St. Pollio, and other saints. The extremities of these figures are exceedingly defective, the hands indeed scarcely indicated. (See, besides the outline in the text, photographs of the Christ and three saints in J. H. PARKER'S *Catacombs*, *u.s.*, Pl. vii.)

[1] St. Callixtus. There is something calm and solemn in the ugliness of the youthful, large-eyed, and narrow head. The breadth of the face at the level of the eyes is excessive. The brows are arched, the eyes staring. The nose is straight, thin, and long, and ends in a point, the upper lip long, the beard a succession of curls round the base of the chin. The figure holds a book in its left hand and blesses with its right. Above the recess is a figure of St. Cecilia older in date. The catacomb of St. Callixtus was closed at the end of the eighth century, and these paintings cannot be later than the date above given.

either unwilling or unable to trust themselves to any effort of composition. Amongst the pictorial relics of the close of the sixth and seventh centuries a mixture of Roman and Greek types prevail with more or less intensity and persistence, of which we still possess an imperfect example in the remnants of that which was once the front of the triumphal arch of San Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome. Honorius III., in the thirteenth century, remodelled this church by moving the portal from the eastern to the western side of the basilica. The outer face of the triumphal arch, adorned with mosaics under Pelagius II., in 578–90, thus became the inner face, because the original nave became the choir of the basilica. Here, then, we have the mosaic of the Redeemer with a cruciform nimbus seated on the orb in a golden firmament, holding a cross and giving the blessing. On one side St. Peter and St. Lawrence escort Pelagius, on the other St. Paul, St. Stephen, and St. Hippolytus attend. Were it not that Pelagius is represented carrying the model of the church, we might ascribe the mosaic to the ninth or tenth century. The head of Christ, which has been renewed, still reproduces the gazing eyes and depressed nose of the original design. The same features are apparent in the heads of St. Lawrence and Pelagius, in which the character of sixth-century work is more apparent than elsewhere. The figures produce a melancholy impression by their ugliness, slender proportions, ill-disposed drapery, and dull colours.[1]

Equally old, yet perhaps more injured, is the apsis mosaic of the seventh century[2] in the round church of San Teodoro at Rome, where Christ in glory is represented much in the same way as at San Lorenzo, attended by St. Peter, escorting St. Theodore and St. Paul, introducing a holy martyr. But, unfortunately, no parts of their decoration can claim to be genuine except perhaps the heads of Peter and Paul.[3]

[1] We must not forget Jerusalem and Bethlehem depicted on the sides of the arch beneath the Saviour.

*[2] These mosaics were probably executed in the eighth century.

[3] The head and hand of the Saviour are modern. The purple mantle is also in great part new. St. Theodore holds a cross. The saint introduced by St. Paul is totally altered. The feet and draperies of St. Paul himself partly renewed, the feet and hands of St. Peter modern, the whole on gold ground.

* These mosaics have undergone further restoration, and none of the original work is now left.

FROM A MOSAIC IN SAN GIOVANNI-IN-FONTE, THE BAPTISTERY OF THE LATERAN, ROME *Alinari, pho.*

I.—*To face page* 40

Better insight into the art of the time may be got from the mosaics on the apsis of St. Agnes, which are devoted to the majesty of that saint adored by Popes Honorius I. and Symmachus. The long motionless figures stand side by side on a green ground. Antique feeling may be traced in the relief of the male heads and in the draperies; but we notice the spread of a new style, which may be called Greek, in the straight lines of the features and folds, whilst the gradual progress of decay is conveyed by sombre colour, dark and abrupt shadows, black outlines, and dry and slender figures of rude execution.[1]

In other examples of the same period we are struck by varieties which may be due either to the employment of different hands on parts of the same decorations, or to accidents which remain to some extent unexplained. At San Venanzio, which is the oratory of the baptistery of the Lateran, built, it is thought, about A.D. 640, by John IV., the Virgin Mary is represented as an orante, in the apsis of the church, attended by St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, and five other saints.[2] Above the Virgin is the usual colossal bust of Christ, between two angels. This central picture is framed by the pictures of the arch front, including the symbols of the Evangelists above, the two holy cities below, and between them a hierarchy of eight saints swelling the procession of those attendant on the Virgin.[3] The Saviour and angels and the apsis figures generally seem to be of an earlier Roman period than those on the arch, and the latter recall the Greek

[1] The cubes of this mosaic at St. Agnes are ill joined and roughly put together. The hand of the Eternal issues out of a triple star-bespangled halo with a crown. St. Agnes, whose head is encircled with a nimbus, wears a purple tunic, a gold mantle lined white, and a jewelled collar; in her hands is a scroll, the latter in part restored. Honorius, with a model of the church in his hand, wears a white tunic and purple mantle. Symmachus, in a purple dress, carries a book. The mosaics may be assigned to the time of Honorius I., 625-38. In Ciampini's time the hands of the two Popes had already been injured.

*[2] Amongst them are S. Venanzio, S. Domnione, bishop of Salona, and John IV., offering a model of the church of San Venanzio.

*[3] The symbols of the Evangelists are in the centre above. The two holy cities are on either side, in part, in the same tier. Below them are four saints on each side of the arch front. These saints are St. Anastasius, St. Asterius, St. Telius, and St. Paulinian (on the right), and St. Maurus, St. Settimius, St. Antiochianus, and St. Cajanus, on the left.

character of San Vitale of Ravenna in slenderness of form, careful execution, harmonious colour, and a certain straightness of lines in draperies which already characterise the figures in St. Agnes.[1]

Equally reminiscent of this bastard period is the mosaic in a niche of San Stefano Rotondo, where dark outlines and broad drapery, defined with straight lines, still reveal, amidst a mass of repairs, the character of the seventh century.[2] Though much of this piece has been irretrievably injured, we may discern that an old character clings to the figures of St. Primus and St. Felician which stand frontwise at each side of a gemmed cross.[3]

A solitary example of Greek influence at Rome, and the last of the seventh century that can be found there, is a fragment removed to San Pietro-in-Vinculis by Pope Agatho in 680, and now adorning an altar to the right on entering that church. Here the artist has represented the long, slender form, the young and slightly bearded face of St. Sebastian holding a crown, dressed in barbaric and richly ornamented costume, and wearing a long mantle fastened to the shoulder with a brooch. This figure distinctly exhibits the impress of the latest art of Ravenna.

With the close of the seventh century, old Roman feeling revived, and swept away most of the Greek influence which had penetrated to Rome from Ravenna. The sole remnant of the Byzantine which survived was the tendency of the Oriental to exchange breadth for slenderness and length of shape. It is characteristic of the independence of Roman art that, whilst history tells of iconoclastic struggles and of a general flight of artists from Byzantium to Italy, not only is not a trace of their influence to be found at Rome, but the older Greek impress disappeared.

Of early productions, attributable to the eighth century, at Rome, but a fragment remains. But this and the mosaics of the

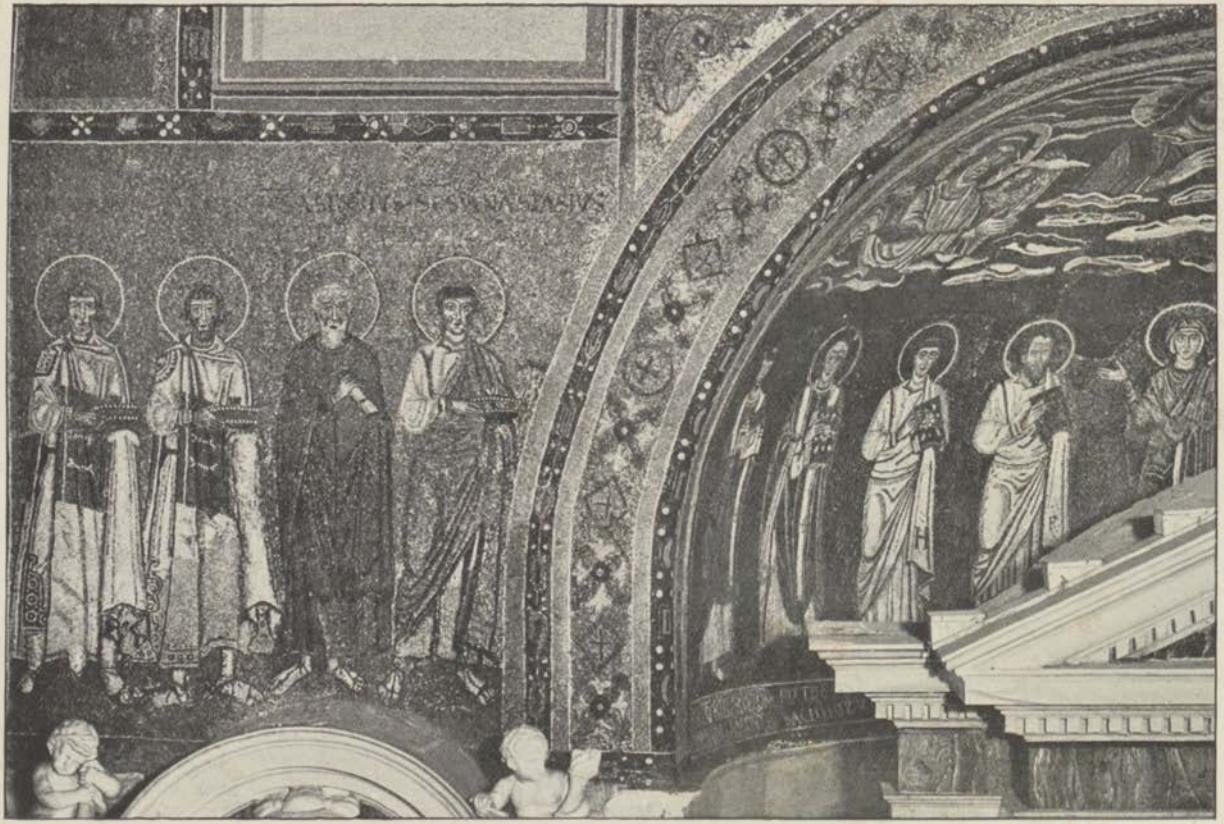
[1] Some restoration may be noticed in St. Peter and angels.

* These mosaics have been very much restored.

*[2] This mosaic, executed about the year 649, has some Byzantine characteristics.

[3] S. Stefano Rotondo at Rome was built on the Celian Hill, some say, about A.D. 467. The cross and part of the background, including medallion of the Saviour, are filled up with stucco and repainted. Part of the figure of St. Felician is also coloured stucco.

* The church is said to have been consecrated in 467 by St. Simplicius.



FOUR SAINTS
From a mosaic in S. Giovanni-in-Fonte, the Baptistery of the Lateran, Rome

Alinari, pho.

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time of Leo III. and Pascal I. alone suffice to show how Roman artists continued to tread in the path of decline. To slenderness of figure and emptiness of form we now find superadded a general sameness of features, and a total absence of relief by shadow. The Greek stare has completely disappeared from the eyes, yet reminiscences of the antique remain in certain types, in dignity of expression and attitude, and in breadth of draperies, which, though defined by mere parallel lines, are still massive. It seems strange that an art so plainly in a condition of decay should have been thought worthy of imitation; but it certainly appeared imposing to the nations north of the Alps; and Charlemagne found it useful to take Italian architects and painters to Germany, who created schools, which certainly wielded a considerable influence on the Rhine. We can, however, easily discern that the admiration of Charlemagne for Italian examples of pictorial skill was due to the total absence of anything of the sort in the countries which owned his sway.

Allusion was made to a fragment of a mosaic of the eighth century. It is a portion of an Adoration of the Magi of the year 705, taken from the old basilica of St. Peter, and preserved in the sacristy of Santa Maria-in-Cosmedin.[1] The Virgin is represented in this fragment enthroned in a cushioned chair, with the infant Christ in a golden tunic on her knee, attended by an angel with outstretched wings to the right, and St. Joseph in white to the left. An arm and a hand holding a present show that the subject was originally an Epiphany. The face of the Virgin, though it betrays gross neglect of form, is not without expression. The shadowless draperies are sculptural in their mass, with shadow indicated by few straight and parallel lines; but the form of the Infant is defective, whilst the angel is of antique type. Blue lines in the white draperies, red lines in the flesh contours, slenderness in the figures, give this fragment that peculiar ap-

*[1] This fragment is a portion of the mosaics which adorned the oratory of Pope John VII. (705–707) in old St. Peter's. Other portions of this decoration are to be found at S. Marco, at Florence, in the Grotte Vaticane, and in the Lateran Museum. At S. Marco, in the Ricci Chapel, is a Virgin Praying. At the Grotte Vaticane are some fragments of the effigy of Pope John VII., of a St. Peter Preaching, and of a Crucifixion. At the Lateran is the Entrance into Jerusalem and the Nativity.

pearance which characterises more or less the art of the whole century.[1]

Time, which dealt unsparingly with the monuments of this period, did not respect those of Leo III., whose activity from 795 to 816 appears as remarkable in art as it was in politics. Leo not only built, but restored, many ecclesiastical edifices. Yet of the mosaics which he caused to be executed in the Triclinium of San Giovanni Laterano, nothing remains but two heads, in poor preservation, in the Vatican museum, and a copy of the lost apsis mosaic representing the Last Supper, and the apotheoses of Charlemagne and St. Sylvester.

But as a specimen of the art of the time, and as evidence of its gradual transformation into mere decoration, we have still the advantage of possessing a mosaic on the triumphal arch of Santi Nereo e Achilleo, which appears to have been executed under Leo III. about the year 800. There the Saviour may be seen standing in an elliptical glory with Moses and Elias at his sides, and St. Nereo and St. Achilleo prostrate before his feet. Right and left are the Annunciation and the Virgin and Saviour guarded by an angel. Though much injured, especially in the figures of the Virgin and Child, this mosaic is practically of the same make as the Epiphany at Santa Maria-in-Cosmedin, displaying the same stiffness of setting and slenderness of proportions, and the same dryness of shape and of drapery. The dominant whity-grey tones of the surface are chiefly produced by dress tints scored with blue or black lines, according as the parts are meant to be in light or in shadow, or flesh parts lined with red or with black under similar conditions. The idea of flatness is made prominent by neglect of transition between light and shade. But a graceful edging of ornament on a brown key, combined with Greek borders in blue and white, all on gold ground, set off the arrangement and give to the picture as a whole a brilliant effect.[2]

[1] The mosaic has been restored, and some of the outlines are overpainted. The execution is rude. The cubes are large and rough.

* The mosaics of this class seem to imitate tapestry rather than painting. Here again, as at S. Stefano, we find traces of Greek influence.

[2] The background of the mosaics on the arch is dark blue, with white and red clouds; the Saviour's halo blue, of a lighter tone. Moses and Elias are not

It was about this time probably, and perhaps as late as the tenth century, that the old, now subterranean, basilica of San Clemente at Rome was filled with paintings which had been produced in rapid succession from the earlier period of classic imitation to the time of the decline before Paschal I.'s accession.[1] In the dark and not easily accessible spaces of this edifice, in which painters appear to have laboured during several ages, we notice on opposite side walls a head of a youth beardless, and seen at three-quarters with remnants of a nimbus, and the upper part of the figure of an older saint, in which the type and style of the early Christian period are presented. In this nave, amongst a large number of fairly preserved wall paintings, there stands with some prominence the Virgin and Child, between two female saints, and a crucifixion of St. Peter. Better again than these are compositions on the sides of the southern aisle, one of which represents St. Clement promoted by St. Peter to the government of the Church, and St. Clement chanting a Mass. Not far from these is Daniel in the Lions' Den. An Assumption, Crucifixion, the Marriage of Cana, the Limbus, the Marys at the Sepulchre, the Entombment of a Saint, the Healing of a Child at St. Clement's Grave, St. Clement with a Saint, and Christ between St. Clement and St. Andrew are also subjects worthy of attention, though time and better light would be required to facilitate a correct judgment as to their values.

In 1084 San Clemente was nearly destroyed by the Normans, and the old basilica was turned into the crypt of a new edifice in 1108 by Paschal II. But the mosaics which were then placed in the apsis of San Clemente, and of which we shall speak in their place, are less remarkable than those with which Roman craftsmen at the time of Pope Paschal I. (817–824) decorated the apsis of Santa Maria della Navicella.

In this venerable edifice we shall find a Majesty of the Virgin

nimbed. The head of the Virgin has been damaged by restoring, and many other parts have suffered from the same causes, but not enough to render a judgment impossible.

*[1] At S. Clemente is a Virgin and Child of the early half of the eighth century, and a young Christ in a *tondo*, of the same period. Some of the frescoes were executed in the middle of the ninth century at the order of Pope Leo IV. Amongst these last is an Ascension.

framed in a pretty foliated ornament on gold ground. The Virgin is enthroned, with the infant Saviour on her lap reposing, in the midst of a choir of slender angels, and receives the adoration of a miniature pope who has fallen on his knees to kiss one of her feet. The angels stand on ground adorned with flowers. Above the Virgin the Redeemer appears in a rainbow in the midst of the apostles, and at the spring of the arch two prophets fill the space. Everything here is subordinate to decoration rules. The figures seem purposely unreal, slender, long, motionless, and unrelieved by light or shade; and time, which has bleached or altered some colours, has doubtless continued to diminish the value of work originally of little account.

In the apsis of Santa Prassede, still of the time of Pope Paschal I., Christ appears in the clouds with a scroll in his left hand.

He stretches out his right to bless the diminutive figures of St. Paul and St. Peter, the former introducing St. Praxedis, attended by his pope, who holds the model of the church; the latter recommending St. Pudenziana, who is accompanied by St. Zeno. The hand of the Eternal above the Redeemer's cruciform nimbus, the date-palms at the sides, on one of which the phœnix is perched, complete the upper part of the arrangement, which is closed at the base by the stream of Jordan that bathes the bank, at the ends of which Jerusalem and Bethlehem are placed, whilst between them Christ and the apostles are symbolised by thirteen lambs.[1]

On the face of the arch, in which the apsis is sunk, we have the Lamb on the altar of the cross between the seven candlesticks, four angels, and the symbols of the Evangelists; beneath which again an appearance of arras decoration is produced by rows of twelve elders a side, all in mantles and carrying crowns in their draped hands. Nothing is more quaint than the triple row of fours in which these elders are marshalled at the side of the curve of the apsis. To suit the narrowing spaces, the arms of the figures in each successive downward row are made perceptibly shorter than those above them.

On the face of the first arch of the sanctuary a strange representation is given of the New Jerusalem laid out in the form of an irregular

*[1] The apse mosaics at S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, and S. Marco belong to the same group of which the apse mosaic of SS. Cosmo and Damiano is the original type.

THE NEW JERUSALEM, THE GLORIFICATION OF THE LAMB, CHRIST AND SAINTS
From a mosaic in the Church of S. Prassede, Rome

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polygon, in the midst of which the Saviour stands guarded by three angels, and receives the homage of the elders; whilst at the gates angels invite the chosen people to enter.[1]

All this produces the effect of rude coloured arras put together by mosaists who take their ideas of the Redeemer from the hideous types of the Pontian catacomb, and their lines of decoration from the older mosaic of Santa Maria Maggiore.

If it were possible to restore the contemporary wall paintings of which very faint traces might still be seen a few years ago in the belfry of Santa Prassede, we might perhaps be able to affirm that painters had fallen to the same level of incapacity as their comrades the mosaists. The loss may be compensated by a glance at the mosaics in the neighbouring chapel of St. Zeno, in which gilding is applied with such profusion that the vulgar call the place Orto del Paradiso.[2] It is not art, however, which contributes to the satisfaction of the spectator, for pictorially the display is no better than that of the apsis.

An arched window above the chapel door contains a double border of medallions, with the Virgin and Child between two attendants, and eight busts of saints, and Christ in benediction, accompanied by apostles and saints.

Over the arch to the left of the altar are represented St. Agnes, St. Praxedis, and St. Pudenziana. Under the arch is the Lamb above a rock guarded by beasts. Beneath are four busts of saints. The busts represent the blessed Virgin, St. Prassede, St. Pudenziana, and "Theodora episcopa," Paschal I.'s mother, with a square nimbus. Over the arch to the right of the altar are St. James, St. Andrew, and St. John. Above the altar is a Virgin and Child between St. Praxedis and St.

[1] The church of St. Praxedis, on the Esquiline, was adorned with mosaics by Paschal I., A.D. 817–24. The following inscriptions prove the exact date of this church and its mosaics. In the frieze below the semidome: EMICAT AULA PIÆ VARIIS DECORATA METALLIS PRAXEDIS . . . PONTIFICIS SUMMI STUDIO PASCHALIS ALUMNI, etc.

*[2] Paschal I. erected this oratory in memory of St. Zeno, to receive the remains of his mother. On an architrave over the entrance to the chapel is the inscription: ✠ PASCHALIS PRAESULIS OPUS DECOR FULGET IN AULA QUOD PIA OPTULIT VOTA STUDUIT REDDERE DŌ.

Pudenziana. On the lunette Christ presides over the apostles. The spaces at the sides of the windows are occupied by the Virgin and John the Baptist. The wall facing the altar is left to the apostles Peter and Paul, who seem to guard an empty throne between them. The cross-sections of the roofing are bound in the centre by a medallion, in which Christ is pourtrayed holding a scroll, and the medallion is supported by four angels.

If we admire the richness of this decoration, it is because the colours are splendid. But design, and other qualities which art should comprise, are altogether wanting.

Two or three other edifices in Rome still exist to mark the complete fall of art at this time. In Santa Cecilia the apsis mosaic, glorifying the Redeemer, St. Cecilia, and Pope Pascal, is a copy of that of Santa Prassede, excepting the figure of St. Cecilia. It is filled with flat and empty forms, darkly outlined, shadowless, rouged, long, stiff, and defective in shape.[1] At San Marco the Saviour in a medallion on the arch of the apsis, and prophets at the sides pointing to him, are perhaps a little better than the Redeemer between St. Mark, St. Agapitus, and St. Agnes (left), and St. Felician with the second St. Mark and Pope Gregory IV. (right). But art here appears to have entered upon a second childhood, during the Papacy of Gregory IV., A.D. 827–44, though still some skill seems left in artists who excel in the designing of rich and beautiful ornament.

Greek influence, which we saw extend from Ravenna to Rome, also spread in the beginning of the ninth century to Milan, where the church of Sant' Ambrogio was brought to a certain degree of splendour by the execution of mosaics, not essentially different from the later ones of the exarchate. The Saviour is represented

[1] Subject—Saviour erect, blessing; six saints about him—St. Peter introducing a male and female saint with crowns, St. Paul, for the first time with the sword, introducing St. Cecilia, who in her turn recommends Pope Pascal. The church owes its mosaics to Pascal I. The background is so dark as to be almost black, and on it are red clouds. The palms, phœnix, Jordan, the Lamb and sheep as in S. Prassede.

Pope Pascal is said to have caused scenes of the life of St. Cecilia to be painted in the church. A fragment of these paintings remains, but is so blackened by time as to defy criticism. An engraving of some of them may be seen in AGINCOURT, Pl. lxxxiv., No. 3.

in the apsis of Sant' Ambrogio, enthroned, with St. Protasius on his right and St. Gervase on his left. The archangels Michael and Gabriel, guardians of the two saints, seem to hover above them with a certain vehemence of action, holding in their hands reeds and crowns.[1]

The style displayed in these examples is akin to that of the seventh or eighth centuries in San Teodoro, St. Agnes, San Venanzio, or San Pietro-in-Vinculis rather than related to that which characterises Santi Nereo e Achilleo or Santa Prassede at Rome. Had art continued at Ravenna, it would probably have assumed the form which characterised Sant' Ambrogio in the ninth century. It would have presented the same costumes and attitudes, the same staring eyes, the same vehemence of action and richness of ornament.[2]

Of the manuscripts traceable to this period it will be unnecessary to speak, as they merely confirm the impression which all other forms of art at Rome must necessarily create.

From the seventh to the eighth century Rome only affords examples of formal ceremonial pictures. The miniatures which remain are either feeble imitations of the antique, or so low in the scale of art as to leave little room for criticism. If we look to sculpture for a different clue, the outcome is not by any means satisfactory. It is known to antiquarians that the gates of the church of Santa Sabina at Rome contain very old illustrations of gospel subjects in carved wood, and it is stated that they were set in their present places by order of Innocent III., about A.D. 1198.[3]

[1] Beneath the pedestal of the throne three saints—Marcellina, Satirus, and Candida—are depicted in medallions. To the right and left of it are two compositions, the first illustrating the sermon of St. Ambrose at Milan, and the second the burial of St. Martin at Tours by the same bishop.

[2] The mosaics of St. Ambrogio are said to have been executed in 832 by order of Gaudentius, a monk. They have been much restored at various times, and probably as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the form of the Saviour being evidently too feeble and lank to be of the same period as the head, which seems well preserved. The inscriptions of these mosaics are Greek. The cubes of the mosaics are large and rude.

* These mosaics are now regarded by some authorities as works of the twelfth century, executed under Byzantine influences, or by Greek artists. They are not of any great artistic importance.

*[3] These carvings have been the subject of considerable controversy. See KONDAKOFF, *La porte de Sainte-Sabine*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, p. 361

But it is easy to perceive that the panels of which the gates are composed are no longer in their natural order, and that the wood in which they are carved is older than that of the framings which keep them together. Some subjects, not unlike those of the fifth century at Santa Maria Maggiore, alternate with others of more modern character. Some figures are of the stunted Roman type, others of the slender shape characteristic of a later age. Elijah flies to heaven accompanied by an angel, poised in the action of a Roman Victory. Pharaoh crossing the Red Sea in his chariot recalls the tamers of Monte Cavallo. Christ, in the Epiphany, is adored by kings in Phrygian dress, and the Saviour in glory or on the road to Golgotha reminds us of similar designs in the churches of Ravenna. But the tendency to ascribe these curious and interesting carvings to a very early period is checked by the conviction that one of the panels, representing Christ crucified between the two thieves, can only have been composed about the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh centuries, when the same subject appears to have been treated, as we shall see, in the wall paintings of Sant' Urbano alla Caffarella, by a painter of the year 1011.[1]

For some time after painting came to be thought an incentive to piety amongst Christians, a jealous supervision exercised by the clergy prevented the treatment of subjects illustrating the Passion. As time sped on the feeling of the masses in this respect underwent a change. Scenes of the Passion soon followed episodes from the earlier history of Christ. But till very near

and *seq.*; BERTHIER, *La porte de Sainte Sabine à Rome*, Fribourg; GRISAR, *Kreuz und kreuzigung auf der altchristlichen Thüre von Santa Sabina in Rom.*, in *Römische Quartalschrift für Christl: Alterthums-kunde u. Kirchen geschichte*, 1894; GRISAR, *Analecta romana, I.*, Rome, 1898; WIEGAND, *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der kirche der hl. Sabina in Rom.*, Trier, 1900; and Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. i., 475–484. Kondakoff and Father Berthier are inclined to regard these carvings as of an early date, of the same period as the throne of Maximian at Ravenna. Father Grisar holds that the door is a work of the fourth decade of the fifth century, and was executed during the Popedom of Sixtus III., whilst admitting that some few of the pictures are substitutions, which had their origin in a later age. In this opinion Professor Venturi concurs.

[1] In the *Annales Ord. Predicatorum* of T. M. Mamacchi, Rome, 1756, I. c. xvii., pp. 569–572, an engraving of the door is given, from which it appears that the panels were originally twenty-eight, of which only eighteen remain.

A PANEL OF THE DOORS OF S. SABINA, ROME *Alinari, pho.*

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the eleventh century the ignominy of death on the cross prevented Christians from accepting delineations of the Crucifixion, which, in the first period of Christianity, had been multiplied to some small extent by pagan scoffers. When Christian feeling had overcome its long aversion to the most fearful of all the incidents attendant on the Redeemer's suffering, an excess of ingenuity was shown in the effort to make manifest the absolute insensibility of Christ to torments.

In the gates of Santa Sabina this ingenuity is displayed in the representation of Christ crucified, but living, serene, and open-eyed. The cross is barely indicated near the ends of the fingers, though the nails are seen where they penetrate the hands. The stature of the Saviour greatly exceeds that of the two malefactors at his side. He is without a nimbus, and of antique build and proportions; antique, likewise, are the three gables of the architecture behind him.

At Sant' Urbano Christ is represented, in tempera on the wall inside, above the portal, with his hands nailed to the cross, which already bears the usual inscription on a scroll. The feet are pinned side by side to a projection. The nimbus and hip-cloth already form indispensable adjuncts. The face and features are regular, the shape proportioned though slender; the hair is long and equally divided, as is likewise the forked and dark-coloured beard. Two angels in half-length are suspended in air, and the Virgin and Evangelist John exhale their grief at the foot of the cross, in front of which two figures reverently hold a cloth. Under the right-hand figure we read BONIZZO FRT. $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ MXI in modern letters, which, however, appear to have been superposed upon older ones.

According to the best authorities Sant' Urbano alla Caffarella, near the catacomb of Prætextatus in the Via Appia, was originally a temple, and was dedicated to St. Urban by Paschal I., about A.D. 820. The cube of the walls is covered by a waggon roof, and decorated internally with the Crucifixion and a double file of frescoes, about the time of Abbot Bonizzo, who was buried in his monastery of San Lorenzo, near Sant' Urbano, in 1022. The frescoes are all of the same age as the Crucifixion, including scenes from the Passion interspersed with incidents in the lives of

St. Urban, St. Cecilia, and—in honour, perhaps, of Bonizzo—the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Facing the Crucifixion, on the wall above the altar, Christ is represented on a throne, in classic tunic, mantle, and sandals, holding the gospel and giving the blessing, attended by St. Peter, St. Paul, and two angels. The regular proportions of Christ's face and frame, the long hair and forked beard, all point to the same early period as the St. Peter and St. Paul, which as yet have neither the keys nor the sword. Time has abraded the painting so much as to make a critical opinion hazardous. The pictures on the wall to the left of the entrance are better preserved than the rest. There is no lack of skill in arrangement, no lack of proportion in the figures, which are in good action though slender in build. The artists seem not unworthy colleagues of the earlier mosaists, who decorated Santa Maria-in-Cosmedin and Santi Nereo e Achilleo. They were of the same class and attainments as the painters of the church of Sant' Agnese, of which the wall pictures, together with eleven scenes from the legend of St. Benedict, now preserved in the museum of the Lateran, display a skilful artifice in marshalling figures of a tall, thin make, without the round, staring eye, the dark contour, and opaque colour of nearly contemporary examples.

That Rome, during the tenth and some part of the eleventh century, should have yielded no examples of mosaic or painting is neither strange nor unnatural.[1] But it is strange that art

*[1] Rome was by no means without painters in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. To the tenth and eleventh centuries belong a series of paintings by Greek masters in the churches of S. Saba, S. Maria Antiqua, and San Pietro-in-Civate. They are most important examples of the art of the second golden age of Byzantine art. They illustrate the well-known truth that a revival of art in the new Rome on the Bosphorus, as in the old Rome, always began with a return to antiquity. The artists who painted these interesting works show that they had gone to classical art for inspiration.

The paintings at S. Saba were executed by Greek monks at the beginning of the tenth century. Those at S. Maria Antiqua, the most important of this group, belong to the tenth and eleventh. Although but fragments of these decorations remain, they suffice to show the great artistic qualities of the masters who painted them. The representation of the mother of the Maccabees, Eleazar, and their seven sons on a pilaster on the right of the church is a singularly masterly work, as is a picture by another hand on a pilaster on the left, in which are represented Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John. On the wall to the right of the apse are two

A DETAIL FROM A FRESCO, S. MARIA ANTIQUA, ROME

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THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

From a fresco in the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome

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should have still continued to exist in the most unhappy and troubled times of the Papacy, and that, when Gregory VII. restored some of its power to the Church in 1073, the arts reappeared, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, without having lost the character and the peculiarities for which they had been remarkable in the period immediately preceding.

To the Benedictines accrued in some measure the merit of having preserved the traditions of art; and in one of their churches, in the neighbourhood of Rome, the works and, for the first time, the names, of Roman artists are preserved.

To the north of the capital, and about seven miles from Nepi, on the road to Civita Castellana, lies the castle and the Benedictine church of Sant' Elia, the latter an edifice of very old Christian form, covered internally with wall paintings by two brothers, Johannes and Stephanus, and Nicholas of Rome. The exact time in which these artists executed the internal decorations of Sant' Elia cannot be ascertained; but the work can hardly be older than the eleventh century, when painters might still combine the imitation of forms and compositions, characteristic of various periods of Roman art, with a technical execution which can be traced back to earlier ages. The surfaces have suffered from neglect, but the pictures illustrate a phase hitherto little known.

heads of singular beauty. Amongst the small paintings that remain in the presbytery is a finely-composed Adoration of the Magi.

The frescoes at S. Pietro-in-Civate are of a later date than those in the two Roman churches. They are of the twelfth century, and for the most part of the latter part of that century. In the Confession is a fragment of a figure which appears to be by some artist of the later period of the second golden age of Byzantine art. But the majority of the pictures in this country church are by Italian followers of the Byzantines.

It was, no doubt, the contemplation of such works as those in S. Maria Antiqua that induced some of the artists of the Roman school to study and imitate the antique. Thus the influence of these Greek masters helped in some measure to bring about the Roman proto-renaissance.

In the ages preceding that renaissance, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the native school still preserved its existence, and never sank to such depths of degradation as did some of the other early Italian schools. The frescoes of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, painted early in the eleventh century, some paintings of the same period in the Lateran museum from the church of S. Agnese, near Rome, and eleven representations of scenes in the life of St. Benedict in the same museum, prove that the Roman school preserved a continuous life until the coming of the Cosmati

Their designers seem to have been accustomed to mosaic work, which they imitated in their crude juxtaposition of colour. But instead of the thin water pigments of the early catacomb artists of Rome or Naples, they used the body colour of the late masters who worked in the chapel of St. Cecilia at St. Callixtus, and produced the Curtius or Desiderius of the catacomb of St. Januarius. Their system, which was anything but subtle, consisted in covering the rough plaster surfaces within black contours of figures, with an uniform verdigris coating, shaded off into red half tint and steel grey shadow. White or black streaks were multiplied to heighten the lights or shadows. Rouge gave ruddiness to flesh. Hair and drapery were even tints, scored with black or white lines defining curls or folds. The result was an uniform flatness, unredeemed by accuracy of drawing, appropriate expression, or effective relief.

In the semidome of the apsis the hand of the Lord appears above the Saviour, who stands with his right arm outstretched, and a scroll in his left; on his right St. Paul is separated from St. Elias by a palm on which the phœnix rests. Elias, in military dress, points to St. Paul. On the Saviour's left St. Peter is now but dimly visible, attended by another figure. The group is relieved on a deep blue ground spotted with broken red-edged clouds. The model of the whole arrangement will be found in the apsis mosaic of Santi Cosmo e Damiano at Rome, from which the designers also took the form of the Redeemer, with his wrinkled face, high forehead, and forked beard. The slender figure of St. Elias, and the marked smallness of his head, recall defects of a later time, whilst reminiscences of the practice of the mosaists of Santi Nereo e Achilleo are preserved in the action and pose of the saint, and the scored folds of his draperies.

In other parts of these paintings we also trace the passage of Greek influences. Beneath the green foreground through which the four rivers issue from beneath the Redeemer's feet, and the Lamb pours its blood into a chalice, an ornament separates the paintings of the semidome from those in the lower courses of the apsis. In the uppermost of these Jerusalem, and in the intervals of three windows twelve sheep in triple groups between palms, are depicted. Bethlehem, which no doubt once closed the arrangement on the right, is now gone. In the next lower course the Saviour sits enthroned between two angels and six female saints, amongst which St. Lucy and St. Catherine, in a gorgeous costume

and diadem, may still be recognised. The rich ornaments, the round eyes and oval faces of these female saints are not without admixture of the foreign elements which left their impress on Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries. Still, the angels with their hair in tufts and their flying bands are of regular features. The painters covered the sides of the tribune with three courses of pictures, fragments of which remain. On the upper course to the right, the prophets with scrolls; on the second, martyrs with the chalice; on the third, scenes from the Old Testament. On the left the lowest course is likewise filled with biblical subjects taken from Revelation. The aisles and nave were doubtless similarly illustrated, but the pictures have unfortunately disappeared.[1]

These paintings of Sant' Elia are far more instructive than those of a later date, and more interesting than the mosaics of the eleventh century at Rome. We gather from them that whilst the Italians were on the threshold of a new political and social life, their art was but a continuation of those errors which had taken root during the troubles of earlier ages. Italian painting undoubtedly improved after the close of the tenth century; but the improvement was slow, and for a time limited to ornament and subordinate decoration.

Whilst this was more particularly the state of things in Italy north of Rome, art was recruited in the south from the workshops of the east; and Leo of Ostia relates that Desiderius, Abbot of Montecassino in 1070, sent for Greek mosaists to adorn the apsis above the high altar of his church, and ordered the novices of his order to learn the art of mosaic, "which art, since the invasion of the Lombards, had no longer been practised in Italy."[2] We may demur to this statement as too general and sweeping, yet admit it

[1] The painters inscribed their names as follows beneath the feet of the Saviour in the apsis: JOHANNES ET STEPHANUS FRATRES PICTORES ROMANI ET NICHOLAUS NEPOS JOHANNIS. The scroll in the hand of St. Paul is inscribed: BONUM CERTAMEN CERTAVI. CURSŪ CONSUMMAVI. FIDEM SERVAVI. St. Peter holds a scroll inscribed: TU ES CHRISTUS FILIUS DEI VIVI, etc. The sheep are painted on a yellow ground simulating gold, like the nimbs of the Saviour and saints. One of the windows, between which the sheep are represented, is filled up, and contains a figure of St. John of the fifteenth century. The angels on each side of the Saviour in Glory on the wall beneath the semidome carry in one hand the labarum, in the other parti-coloured crowns of blue and white. The female saints are on a blue ground spangled with stars.

[2] LEO OF OSTIA, *ap.* MURATORI, *Rer. Ital. Scriptores*, iv. p. 442.

so far as Southern Italy is concerned. But if mosaics were no longer in fashion, the sister craft was still carried on without interruption; and visitors to the old and classic ground of Capua may still derive pleasure from a visit to the country church of Sant' Angelo-in-Formis, which contains genuine wall paintings, albeit in a poor state of preservation.

Sant' Angelo-in-Formis was a Benedictine monastery, and the artists engaged in its decoration are proved by such traces as remain of their activity to have been either Greeks or Southern Italians accustomed to labour for Greek churches. We may, however, observe that whilst the work of these painters is clearly impressed with a particular stamp, there is no reason to assume that it was superior in any way to that of their Italian contemporaries in other parts of the Peninsula; for it was in sculpture and not in painting that Southern Italy wielded supremacy in the early centuries of its revival.

The period when the wall pictures under notice were executed may be indicated by stating that in 1058 the Norman Richard became possessed of the Principality of Capua and conceded to the Benedictines the right to found a monastery near his new capital. About 1075 the buildings were finished; the church of Sant' Angelo-in-Formis was consecrated by Erveo, Archbishop of Capua, and the successful termination of his labours was recorded by Desiderius, Abbot of Montecassino, in an inscription which still exists above the portal.[1]

Inside and out, the walls of Sant' Angelo were covered with paintings, of which a fair number have been preserved.

In the apsis is the Saviour enthroned in benediction. The book is in his grasp, the symbols of the Evangelists are at his sides; and the hand of the Eternal appeared out of an opening surrounded by a fan-like

[1] CONSCENDES CAELUM SI TE COGNOVERIS IPSUM
UT DESIDERIUS QUI SACRO FLAMINE PLENUS
AD COMPLENDAM LEGEM DEITATI CONDIDIT AEDEM,
UT CAPIAT FRUCTUM QUI FINEM NESCIAT ULLUM.

See also LO MONACO's *Dissertazione sulle varie vicende di S. Angelo in Formis* (fol. Capua, 1839), pp. 12, 13, 15.

* KRAUSS, *Die Wandgemälde von Sant' Angelo in Formis*, in the *Jahrbuch d. k. preuss. kuntsammlungen*, xiv., and in the *Geschichte d. christl. kunst*, ii. 64, Freiburg, 1897.

ornament. Beneath the semidome, and on the wall of the apsis, three archangels separate the abbot Desiderius, erect and receiving the model of the church, from a figure of St. Benedict, now almost obliterated.

On the opposite wall, above the high portal, the Last Judgment is depicted. The Saviour sits in an elliptical glory and distributes the blessing and the curse, his hands being the only part of the figure now remaining. Below him, an angel raises high above his head a long scroll, of which the inscription has disappeared; whilst two angels at his sides hold scrolls inscribed with the words VENITE BENEDICTI and ITE MALEDICTI. Above the Saviour, and between the upper windows, four angels sound the last trump. Beneath, in two courses on each side of the Saviour, are twelve angels in adoration and twelve apostles on benches. At the sides of the angels, below the Saviour, the saints, martyrs, and confessors of both sexes are assembled on one hand, and devils pursue the condemned into the everlasting abyss on the other. On the lowest course to the left, the just, plucking and wearing flowers, are made to contrast with others on the right, tortured or carried by demons to the foot of Lucifer, a vast monster, now unfortunately headless, sitting in chains with arms terminating in claws, and holding under one elbow the dwarfed and writhing form of Judas.

The painters of Sant' Angelo-in-Formis succeeded much better in representing the realm of Satan than the joys of Paradise. Their idea of the Saviour is inexpressibly painful.

A thin figure, with shapeless hands and feet, surmounted by a large grim head of bony aspect, inclosed by lank red hair and lined out in black. A wrinkled brow, gazing eyes, a long, pointed nose, a little mouth, a short, straggling beard, and two daubs on the cheeks are the characteristic features of this delineation.

The archangels of the apsis are round-headed, with large almond-shaped eyes and pointed noses and thick necks. A mere line indicates the mouth. Patches of red on the cheeks, coloured wings, precious stones, and dresses profusely covered with gold in square patterns complete a tawdry picture. One of the Evangelists and the angels blowing the trumpets of the Judgment are in long and vehement stride; and an attempt is made to imitate flying draperies by meaningless triangular flaps of stuff. Here and there a grand intention may be traced in a solitary figure, as for instance in the angel beneath the Saviour of the Last Judgment, of which the attitude found imitators in later centuries.

On the walls above the arches of the central aisle three courses of paintings represent: first, the prophets and kings; next, scenes from the Passion; and last, a series of Old Testament scenes, now almost obliterated.

Amongst the episodes of the Passion, one is the Crucifixion, in which the Saviour is represented erect, with his feet nailed separately to a projection. His face, slightly bent towards the Virgin, who stands below on the left, seems to express menace. His frame and limbs are well proportioned but rudely drawn. The pectoral muscles and lower ribs are marked by triple red lines. The Virgin and St. John near the cross are stiff and motionless.[1] Two grimacing faces in rounds above the cross—one of them worked in blue, the other in red—represent the sun and the moon. Near them are two angels in movements indicative of fright.

The Entombment—a composition of five figures in the series of the Passion—deserves to be specially noticed. The dead body of Christ is swathed in cloth like a mummy. The head is surrounded by a nimbus and rests on the bosom of the Virgin, who supports the shoulders, whilst Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea bear the weight of the body and legs. John the Evangelist stands by in an attitude of grieving. The realism displayed in this picture is most manifest in the grave-clothes which are wound round the Redeemer in the same way as those of Lazarus in the first catacomb pictures. The remaining parts of the composition vary but slightly from those which, from this time forward, through many ages, were preserved by the artists of Italy. Curiously enough, this Resurrection of Lazarus forms part of the New Testament subjects which fill the middle course of paintings on one side of the aisle. Next to it in value as an effort of composition is Christ seated on the orb receiving Zacchæus, and St. Paul and St. Peter in the distance, with the Samaritan woman approaching the well. The remaining subjects are: Christ curing the Lepers, Christ healing the Blind, Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery, Christ at the Pharisee's Table adored by the Magdalen, Christ entering Jerusalem, the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet. On the wall opposite are: Christ's Agony in

[1] In Sant' Angelo each side aisle has an apsis, of which that to the right still preserves traces of a Virgin between two angels, with six busts of female saints below. Some of the paintings of the third course which had been whitewashed were uncovered again about 1874, and there are now visible fragments of Noah in prayer with his three sons, Gideon, the Death of Abel, and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.

the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, Christ and the Scoffers, Christ before Pilate, Christ on the road to Calvary, the Marys at the Sepulchre, the Limbus, Christ saving Peter from sinking, the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and the Ascension.

The chief interest of this cycle of early church painting in Southern Italy is its completeness as a representation of all the episodes of the New Testament, including the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. The form assigned to the latter was accepted for more than a century; and it is to be presumed that the artists who carried it out were under the direction of the Benedictines, who in those days were proficient in art, and at times professors of it. A suggestion has already been made that these artists might be Levantines, as the mosaists are said to have been who were engaged at Constantinople to serve in the monastery of Montecassino. But they might also have been Italian born, trained in South Italian cities, and accustomed to practise in the East. There is evidence enough to show that art was cultivated at the Byzantine Court by Italians in the eleventh century; and the gates of the cathedrals of Amalfi and Ostia, as well as those of Montecassino, were carved in metal by Amalfitan craftsmen at that time resident in the capital of the Eastern Empire.[1] In 1197 founders of the same locality produced the gates which still close the portal of the cathedral of Ravello. And this proves not only that relations were kept up between the South Italian republics and Byzantium, but that these relations were frequent and of long standing; and if mosaists and founders of South Italian birth worked alternately in the Levant and in South Italy, painters may easily have done the same, and thus account for the mixture of the Byzantine which characterises much of the Roman, Tuscan, and Venetian art productions after the eleventh century.

Outside of the church of Sant' Angelo-in-Formis a double recess above the architrave of the chief portal contains a half-length of the

[1] See CARAVITA'S *Codici e le Arti a Montecassino* (8vo, Montecassino, 1869), i. p. 194. The contemporary gates of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome, of the same class of workmanship as those of Amalfi, and executed by one Staurakios in 1070 at Constantinople, are now exhibited in a room next to the sacristy of the church for which they were originally made.

Virgin with raised arms, wearing a heavy diadem of gold and richly gilt close-fitting vestments, in a medallion supported by two flying angels of slender forms. In an inner lunette, a half-figure of a winged angel, likewise in close-fitting dress adorned with lozenge patterns of gold, holds a reed and a disc on which is written $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\Theta\overline{\text{V}}$.[1] These two figures are less rude than those inside the church, and may have been painted by one having supervision over the less skilled assistants who carried out the labour of the interior. His colours are used on the same principle as theirs, but with better judgment, the system being to prepare a layer of plaster or intonaco, for flesh parts in verde, then model it with a thick yellow body colour in the lights, and a brownish red in the shadows. Painting according to this method, tinting of drapery in similar tawdry contrasts, or action as vehement and exaggerated, was equally known to the painters of Sant' Angelo and those of Nepi, but it is doubtful whether anything can be found at Nepi or at Rome in the eleventh century that shows a lower level of skill than that exhibited in the suburbs of Capua.

Sant' Angelo-in-Formis is not the only monument erected by the zealous Desiderius. He caused the monastery of San Benedetto at Capua to be rebuilt, and ordered that mosaics of the Saviour and the apostles Peter and Paul should be placed in the apsis of the church.[2] Ornaments of the same kind, begun at his desire in the aisles, were finished about 1089 by his successor Oderisius, Abbot of Montecassino.[3] To the latter the church of San Giovanni of Capua owed its mosaics, a part of which were subsequently transferred to a lunette on the left-hand side of the portal of the cathedral. The remnants, which reveal quite an undeveloped art, represent the Virgin and Child between the two St. Johns.[4] Still further to the south the same defects may be traced to Otranto and Amalfi;[5] and their continuation till late in the thirteenth century can be followed in pictures of the Naples museum and other galleries, assigned to Bizzamano

[1] The lunettes of the porch are adorned with painted scenes from the legends of St. Anthony the Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit, now in part obliterated.

[2] LO MONACO, *u.s.*, cites the original record, p. 20.

[3] See the document in Appendix to MARCO LO MONACO'S *Varie Vicende*, *u.s.*

[4] This mosaic is, besides, much damaged by moving and repair.

[5] Church of the Madonna del Rosario, in which is a painting of the Virgin and Child.

d'Otranto,[1] and in a Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour in the monastery of Montevergine near Avellino.[2]

The Norman princes of South Italy were not long contented with the poor productions of Capuan mosaists. After they had conquered Sicily in the twelfth century, they found no apparent difficulty in bringing together some hundreds of workmen who adorned with mosaics a vast number of churches, without, unfortunately, leaving much evidence behind them to show whether the artists were Greeks, Sicilians, or Arabs.[3]

The finest and the oldest of these productions are in the cathedral of Cefalù, which, by order of King Roger of Sicily, were executed in the year 1148.[4]

The only parts of this decoration that now remain are in the semidome, apsis, and sanctuary, in the first of which a colossal bust of the Saviour is represented in glory and benediction,[5] between four angels holding the labarum, and medallions of Melchizedek, Hosea, and Moses (the latter now destroyed). In a second course in the apsis and sanctuary are the twelve apostles, in a third the Virgin between the prophets Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, and Nahum, and lower down, a double row of prophets, elders, and saints.[6] In these mosaics,

[1] A picture in the Naples museum, quite in this Oriental style, and assigned to Bizzamano, represents St. George on horseback assisted by a miniature figure helping him to spear the dragon. The Eternal's hand appears above, and the usual female on one side. Another picture, more surely assignable to the same hand, is an Entombment of old, numbered 1062 in the Berlin Museum, inscribed at the back with the words ANGELUS BIZAMANUS PINXIT IN HOTRANTO; it is the fellow to another picture of the same style representing the meeting of Christ and Mary Magdalen in the Museo Cristiano at Rome which bears the signature DONATUS BIZAMANUS PINXIT IN HOTRANTO.

[2] The gilt nimbus of the Virgin of Montevergine projects at an angle, so as to exhibit the head more clearly to the spectator. The vast diadem and golden dress is worse done than the Virgin of the Madonna del Rosario.

[3] See *postea*, p. 63.

[4] PIRRI, *Ecc. Mess.*, p. 389, in D. LO FASO PIETRASANTA'S *Duomo di Monreale* (fol., Palermo, 1838), p. 75.

[5] Christ holds in one hand a book, in which are inscribed, in Greek, the words, "I am the light of the world. He who followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." See DI MARZO, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, i., p. 153.

[6] Originally SS. Peter, Vincent, Lawrence, Stephen, Gregory, Augustin, Sylvester, Dionysius, Abraham, David, Solomon, Jonas, Micah, Naomi, SS. Theodore, George, Demetrius, Nestor, Nicolas, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory, and Theodosius. Some of these have perished.

a far higher class of art is revealed than the Roman of the same period. The space is well distributed, and the apostles by no means display the customary absence of design or form. The draperies are cast with the breadth and elegance of older and more classic times, though the vestments of some angels, their close fit and gilt ornaments, still display an Oriental taste. The features of the apostles are of traditional types, those of the tall angels are quiet, plump, and, in spite of Byzantine depression of nose, less than usually unpleasant in gaze.

The Saviour is dressed in a purple tunic shot with gold, and a blue mantle, which drapes the left arm and shoulder in mazes of angular folds. A thin bony head, of sharp features, is surrounded by very heavy masses of hair falling in ripples to the shoulders, and with the now usual double forelock on the wrinkled forehead. The brows are regularly and naturally arched and the eyes without gaze. The nose is thin and long, the mouth small. A regular beard covers the lips, cheeks, and lower part of chin. The muscular neck is deficient in form. Though fine and even majestic this figure is inferior to those of the apostles below it; and it is characteristic of the artists of this time that, in the effort to realise a Christian type of which the features should not be reminiscent of the antique, they produced nothing that indicated a creative spirit. They imagined the Saviour lean from abstinence, but not of ideal shape.

The mosaics of Cefalù are the work of many hands. But in all of them the drawing is precise and careful, and the contours of the figures, as proved by the red outlines on the binding substance, were perfectly made out previous to the laying of the cubes. True harmony of tones and a correct appreciation of the laws of distance, a fair knowledge of relief and a proper subordination of ornaments to figures must also be conceded to the artists of Cefalù. In the flesh lights nature is closely imitated. In the shadows verde prevails. The mosaists have become technically perfect in the close jointing of the cubes.[1]

Contemporary with the Cefalù mosaics, but inferior to them—either because originally intrusted to inferior hands, or because restoring has impaired their beauty—are those of the Palatine

[1] The backgrounds of these apsis mosaics are grey. Many of the outlines are strengthened with colour, and evidently by the original mosaists.

* The designs of these mosaics were carefully drawn in colours on the intonaco underneath.

EIGHT SAINTS

From a mosaic in the Cathedral of Cefalù

Alinari, pho.

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Chapel at Palermo, built in 1132[1] by Roger of Sicily, and consecrated in 1140.[2]

The mosaics were finished after the consecration, partly in 1143,[3] and partly later; they fill the sanctuary, the cupola of the transept, and the walls of the nave and aisles. Scenes from the life of St. Peter and St. Paul in the side aisles, figures of saints or prophets above the arches of the nave and in the left transept[4] rival the most perfect ones of Cefalù. The Saviour in Benediction between St. Peter and St. Paul, above the marble throne, is less perfect in type and form, and betrays a later and feebler art. The same may be said of the Saviour and angels in the cupola.[5]

One of the most curious features of this chapel is the decoration of the ceiling with figures distinguished by haloes and Cufic inscriptions, which show that amongst the skilled hands employed in the decoration, there were not only Greek artists of education, but Sicilian Arabs who accepted pay from the Norman king.[6]

In other parts of the Palace of Palermo the skill of the mosaists is shown in rich ornaments of animals and foliage on gold ground which fill appropriate shapes in one of the principal rooms.

But splendour and taste in procuring the ornamentation of edifices was not confined to the Sicilian king. The great admiral

[1] PIRRI, *Tab. Reg. cap. Palat.*, in LO FASO, *u.s.*, p. 74.

[2] The completion of the building in this year is proved by a mutilated record cited from the archives of Palermo by ABATE BUSCENI in *Giornale Eccles. p. la Sicilia*, i.; DI MARZO, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, i. p. 148 and ii. p. 65.

[3] An inscription in the cupola proves that some of the mosaics were finished in that year. See LO FASO, *u.s.*, p. 27.

[4] SS. Gregory, Sorgius, Basil, John the Isaurian, and another.

[5] These mosaics have been damaged by many successive repairs. The mosaics of the tribune and apsis are modern.

[*] Signor Cavalcaselle held that the scenes from the Old Testament and the mosaics in the aisles representing scenes from the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul were also of a later date. The mosaics he believed to be of various dates. The Saviour amongst Saints and Angels in the cupola he believed to belong to the age of William II. of Sicily, that is to say, to the latter half of the twelfth century. He compares it with the mosaics of this period at Monreale.

[*6] For the iconography of these mosaics consult PAULOUSKIJ, *Iconographie de la Chapelle Palatine*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, troisième série, 25, 1895.

George of Antioch ordered the church of Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio, now la Martorana, to be erected in Palermo; the edifice was consecrated in 1113,[1] finished, endowed, and filled with gorgeous mosaics in 1148.

An elegant and majestic half figure of St. Anna holding a palm, of regular proportion and features, is well preserved in the lateral apsis of the right transept. A composition of the Death of the Virgin may be seen above one of the arches of the cupola, in which the body lies on the tomb surrounded by the Marys, angels, and apostles, one of whom bends over the breast of the recumbent figure to listen for the beating of the heart. This, and figures of saints and angels in various parts of the edifice, are fully equal to the finest mosaics of Cefalù. The Birth of the Virgin, above one of the arches of the cupola, is, on the contrary, inferior in every sense. The cupola itself is too dark to permit of the mosaics being properly seen. There are mosaics, however, in two lateral chapels transferred from other parts of this edifice. One is the admiral prostrate in prayer before the Virgin and Child, the other a fine effigy of Christ in the act of giving the crown to King Roger, who bends reverently before him, both pieces executed in the most careful Byzantine manner.[2]

The most imposing of all edifices in Sicily, on account of the extent of its mosaic ornaments, is the cathedral of Monreale, built in the twelfth century, on the model of the Greek basilicas of Constantinople and Ravenna. A bull of Alexander III. proves that it was not yet finished in 1174, whilst a bull of Lucius III. testifies to its completion in 1182.[3]

The mosaics illustrate those portions of the Old Testament which prefigure the coming of the Messiah, the life of the Saviour to the descent of the Holy Spirit, the glory of the Redeemer, and the triumph

*[1] The present building was erected by Georgios Antiochenos, admiral of Roger I., in 1143.

[2] MORSO, *Palermo antica*, gives the original diplomas which are copied in LO FASO, *u.s.*, p. 86. The greater part of these mosaics is severely injured by time and restoring.

* In the vestibule are preserved fragments of mosaics, one of which represents Georgios prostrate before the Virgin, the other Christ crowning King Roger. Roger I. is represented wearing the dalmatic, as hereditary Apostolic Legate of Sicily, an honour bestowed upon the Norman princes by Urban II. (1088-1099).

*[3] The best authorities to consult on these mosaics are: DI MARZO, *op. cit.*, and GRAVINA, *Il Duomo di Monreale*, 1859.

KING ROGER CROWNED BY CHRIST
From a mosaic in the Church of La Martorana, Palermo

Alinari, pho.

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of the Church. A bust of the Saviour of colossal stature, and of a type and form inferior to that of Cefalù, with features of a heavy character, is in the semidome of the apsis;[1] and beneath, the Redeemer is depicted at full length enthroned by the side of the Virgin between the archangels and the twelve apostles. The spaces over the arch, dividing the sanctuary from the minor tribune, are adorned with figures of twelve prophets. An arch, leading from the minor tribune into the transept, is reserved for a half figure of Emmanuel with eight medallions of prophets on each side. On the opposite face of the arch is the Annunciation. The transepts are filled with double courses of mosaics representing scenes from the New Testament, the archivolts of the solea or quadrangle in the centre of the church with medallions of the progenitors of the Saviour according to the genealogy of St. Matthew. An arch which divides the solea from the nave is adorned with Santa Sofia, or the wisdom of God, adorned by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Two courses of mosaics in the nave contain scenes of the Old Testament. The walls of the side aisles are filled with incidents from the New Testament subordinate to those in the transept, and the apsis of each aisle contains scenes of the life of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Amongst the transept mosaics, those which represent the story of the Passion are not essentially different from the traditional ones which had now been frequently depicted. The compositions are animated; and some of them are remarkable for bold and even foreshortened movements. In the Crucifixion, however, the protruding lips and distorted frame, the bent and doleful head of the Redeemer, reveal the progress of decay in art. Yet the habit of nailing the feet separately to the cross has not been abandoned, and as a study of muscular anatomy, the figure is less imperfect than it afterwards became. In the corner of the left transept, above a marble throne, the Saviour is depicted setting the crown on the head of William II. This, and a solitary figure of St. John, removed from the old baptistery near the right transept to a niche in the right aisle, are amongst the most careful mosaics in the edifice. In general, however, the forms and features of the apostles and saints no longer equal those of Cefalù, and a certain

[1] The originality of the head of the Saviour in the apsis of Monreale may be doubted.

stiffness or contortion may be noticed; the eyes are more open and gazing, the draperies more straight and angular; the harmonies of colour are not without dissonance; and greyish-red shadows with broad cutting outlines mark the decline of art in Sicily. Hardly a century later, mosaists still produced examples at Messina, which are inferior even to those of the eleventh century at Capua.[1]

On the Italian continent the influence of Sicilian mosaists was felt. A solitary half figure of St. Matthew, in the cathedral of Salerno, built by Robert Guiscard in 1084, makes a near approach to the better productions of Sicily.[2]

At the opposite extremity of the Peninsula, but still connected with the east by its trade and commercial navy, Venice shared with Sicily the labours of Greek mosaists. It is not feasible to distinguish in mosaics such as those of St. Mark, parts that may have been produced by artists of the eleventh and twelfth century. The cupolas of the vestibule are adorned with compositions from the Old Testament, which are like those of Sicily; but they have

[1] These examples adorn the three apses of the cathedral of Messina. In the central one, less defective than the two others, yet much damaged, Frederic II. of Aragon, and Archbishop Guidotto are represented kneeling at the right, and King Peter II. at the left of a throne on which the Saviour sits guarded by angels and female saints. On either side of the ellipse are the Virgin and St. John. The apsis to the right is devoted to King Louis of Anjou, and John, Duke of Athens, placed on each side of St. John the Evangelist and supported by saints. In the apsis to the left the Madonna is represented seated between the archangels Gabriel and Michael; Queen Eleanor and Queen Elizabeth, wife of Peter of Aragon, kneel before her. The first of these apsis mosaics is remarkable for long draperies of intricate fold, for ill-drawn figures, yet less defective than those in the semidomes at the sides, where disproportion of form and rudeness of design are combined.

* In addition to the mosaics in the cathedral we find at Messina a mosaic of the thirteenth century in the left transept of the convent-church of S. Gregorio. It represents the Madonna enthroned. Before the Blessed Virgin kneels Pope Gregory with an open scroll in his hand bearing an inscription. In the adjacent monastery is a mosaic representing the archangel St. Michael, also a work of the thirteenth century, which was formerly in the oratory of the hospital of S. Michele della Caperrina.

*[2] At Grottaferrata, near Rome, in the Badia, are two mosaics, one above the door of the church, the other above the Triumphal Arch. The first, which represents Christ Blessing, is of the beginning of the eleventh century. The second, the subject of which is either Pentecost or the Celestial Court around the throne of God, is of the third decade of the twelfth century. See FROTHINGHAM, *Les Mosaïques de Grottaferrata*, in the *Gazette Archéologique*, viii., 1883.

Alinari photo. Anderson

Madonna in Church of S. Maria Novella. Florence.

Duccio

been subjected to repeated restoration; and it is safe only to assume that at Venice, as in Sicily, mosaists habitually practised an art of Byzantine type. Venetian mosaists naturally found employment in the neighbouring islands, and there are traces of their labours at Murano and Torcello. In San Donato of Murano a colossal figure of the Virgin of the Assumption displays the long, slender proportions and bright colours of the Siculo-Byzantines, with borders in the best taste of the ornamentists of the time.

Inside and above the portal of the cathedral of Torcello we may distinguish amongst several mosaics, mostly injured by time, a Last Judgment, which contains more strange and extravagant fancies, and more defective figures than even the Last Judgment of Sant' Angelo in Formis; yet there is internal evidence that this work is not older than the twelfth century.

Venice has parted with many of her pictorial treasures in the course of ages. From San Cipriano of Murano the apsis mosaic of Christ between the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, and John the Baptist and St. Cyprian, was taken bodily away in 1837, and set up in the Friedenskirche at Potsdam, where it is now preserved.[1]

Meanwhile there remain in the old baptistery of Concordia frescoes which illustrate traditions as old as the eighth and ninth centuries. Though injured by time these frescoes still comprise fragments of Christ enthroned in the centre of the cupola, the rest of the space being occupied by seraphs, and on the walls between the windows the prophets and Evangelists. In the right transept is a St. George fighting the dragon. The painter in this case seems to have been a Byzantine. His work is rude, as all the work of the Eastern Christians was in those days.

The Greek style of this period, as it appears in miniatures, also exhibits the characteristics which are found in Sicilian mosaics.

Meanwhile Rome, unmoved by the Byzantine influence on each side of her, maintained her old individuality, and produced works of painting of which a few examples remain. Amongst many that are so damaged by age and repairs as to have nearly lost

*[1] For the mosaics of San Marco consult SACCARDO, *Les Mosaïques de Saint-Marc à Venise*, Venice, 1897.

all value, we observe a Crucifixion of the twelfth century in the Cappella del Martirologio, annexed to the church of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, and numerous figures on the walls and ceilings of the same chapel; a Communion and Coronation of Peter de Courtenay, and biblical episodes in the porch of San Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome; and scenes of the life of St. Lawrence in the body of the same church.[1] All these paintings are interesting in spite of their state, because they are of the same school and manner, because in composition, distribution, and a certain animation of movement they now and then recall the antique, and because they are free from the exaggerated action which had already begun to mark the decline of Greek or Byzantine art.

Reverting now to the practice of mosaics at Rome in the early part of the twelfth century, we again find that luxurious ornamentation prevails rather than good arrangement or form.

The apsis of Santa Francesca Romana, one of the earliest churches that can be assigned to the twelfth century, is still covered with one of those formal scenes which have been so frequently described. The Virgin and Child stand in the midst of saints under arches, and a lavish display of triangular crowns, gilt draperies and backgrounds, a wonderful profusion of gay colours in dresses and a large fan-like ornament, seem intended to conceal the excessive immobility and defective shapes of the figures.[2]

[1] The Saviour in San Paolo is open-eyed and erect, the feet separately nailed to the wood. Above the cross are the sun and moon and two busts of angels. Right and left of the cross are the Virgin and St. John, and at their sides a mounted soldier with helm and lance. The long and slender figures resemble those at S. Urbano. The apostles Peter and Paul, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, and other saints, and, in the ceilings, the symbols of the Evangelists are all assignable to the end of the twelfth century. The paintings of San Lorenzo were commissioned by Honorius III., and are probably of the year 1217. The figures are small, long, and thin, the draperies good in intention.

[2] The Virgin and Child are supported on each side by SS. James and John on the left, SS. Peter and Andrew on the right. The whole mosaic has been excessively restored, but was originally of the rudest execution. The best-preserved figure, which is that of St. Andrew, is of better form, however, than the figures in S. Marco. The Virgin wears a triangular crown. Her close dress is full of gilding and imitations of jewellery. The use of red and black in the flesh tints is less frequent than in S. Marco, but they are of a flat and unrelieved yellowish tone. The figure of the Saviour is long, lean, and ugly.

CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED
From a mosaic in S. Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome

Alinari, pho.

I.—*To face p.* 68

Gay colour and ornament, and fair proportions, mark a later mosaic of the twelfth century, representing the Virgin and Child between the seven wise and the seven foolish virgins,[1] on the front of the church of Santa Maria-in-Trastevere.[2]

The Virgin and Saviour on one throne in the apsis of the church are remarkable for similar qualities and defects. The Saviour, of larger size than the Virgin; the Virgin, decked with a splendid crown and gilt draperies; the richly coloured fan ornament; the twining branches and foliage, in which birds seemed to twitter; the figures of saints in the tribune, short, thickset, and lame in attitude:—all exhibit Roman art at this time as more than ever reduced to pure show.[3]

This principle of mere decoration is applied with still more exclusiveness in the apsis of San Clemente.

Here, in the midst of rich vine tendrils, the Saviour is represented crucified, with twelve doves about the head, the Virgin and St. John Evangelist at the base of the cross. Four Fathers of the Church, shepherds, goats, birds are scattered about the ornament, below which the four streams of Paradise, the Lamb, and the two cities are placed. On the arch of the tribune are Isaiah, St. Lawrence with the gridiron, St. Paul under the form of a pilot, St. Peter, and St. Clement with an anchor; in the upper centre the Saviour and the symbols of the four Evangelists complete the mosaic. The attitude and the closed eyes of the Saviour on the cross betray the progress of a new religious idea in reference to the pictorial delineation of the Redeemer. The figures are less defective than at Santa Maria-in-Trastevere, but the draperies are still stiff and angular, and it is evident that, if art was progressing, it gained less in the essentials than in detail, ornament, and the rich distribution of colour.[4]

* [1] There are only ten female figures. A small kneeling figure of a pope is on each side. The popes are Innocent II. and Eugenius III.

* [2] The precise signification of this mosaic is doubtful. Eight of the virgins have their lamps lit, two, uncrowned, have their lamps extinguished.

[3] On each side of the throne, SS. Callixtus, Lawrence, and Innocent II. (1130–1143), St. Peter, the popes Cornelius and Julius, and the presbyter Calipodius. Below the throne, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, the twelve sheep, and four rivers on a blue ground. On the arch of the tribune, Isaiah and Jeremiah; above them children, vases, and flowers. On each side a tree and the symbols of the Evangelists. Above the centre, the cross and seven candlesticks.

* [4] Beautiful in pattern, rich and harmonious in colour, the mosaics of the apse of S. Clemente have great decorative qualities. Effective modelling and accurate representation are not the chief qualities required in a decoration of this kind.

Towards the close of the twelfth century examples accumulate; and, were it absolutely necessary to follow chronological order, we should wander from north to south and from east to west, to contemplate works having no other connection than that of date.

Leaving aside certain rude frescoes of the twelfth century at Spoleto, in the church of San Paolo-fuori-di-Porta Romana, the merits, or rather defects, of which may well be left to the humble compass of a note,[1] setting aside a certain number of early crucifixes in various parts of Italy, it may be of advantage for the present to continue the narrative of art in Rome, and to trace the slight influence which the later Byzantine art, as it appears in Sicily, exercised in the capital of Italy.

The semidome mosaic of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura is but a repetition of the old subject of the Saviour between a double row of saints, and adored by a small kneeling figure of Pope Honorius III. In the lower course of the apsis two angels and twelve apostles stand stiff and motionless in a row, separated from each other by palms, on each side of an altar bearing a cross. The figures are remarkable for careful setting, a fair definition of light and shadow, a fine and accurate outline, and perfectly jointed cubes of mosaic. The head of the Saviour, of colossal dimensions, is modern, and the body a lay figure; but amongst the apostles St. John is of fair character, and the rest hardly inferior to

[1] These frescoes, executed on one intonaco like those of Nepi and Sant' Angelo in Formis, are to be found in that part of the old church of San Paolo which is above the false roof. They represent the creation of Eve, the expulsion from Paradise, a head of the Saviour and figures of prophets, and other episodes. The rude drawing and broad outlines indicate a feeble artist, but the shapes of the heads and frames, and the repose in the glance of the eyes, proclaim an Italian painter of the twelfth century. Other frescoes, apparently of the twelfth century, are shown in the old abbey of San Pietro of Ferentillo by Spoleto. The subjects are: The creation of the Earth, of the Firmament, of Woman; Adam and the beasts; Christ in Jerusalem. Of the same period is a mosaic above the portico of the cathedral of Spoleto, representing the Saviour enthroned in benediction, with a book in his left hand, the Virgin and St. John at his sides, almost entirely renewed. The work is interesting only for the following inscription:

HEC EST PICTURA QUAM FECIT SAT PLAGIURA :
DOCTOR SOLSERNUS HAC SUMMUS IN ARTE MODERNUS,
ANNIS INVENTIS CUM SEPTEM MILLE DUGENTIS.
OPERARI PALMERI D. SASO. . .

* In Rumohr's day the word PLACITURA, not PLAGIURA, was the seventh word of the inscription. See *op. cit.*, i., 332–33.

similar ones at Monreale. Still the forms in general are disagreeable, the eyes are round and gazing, the noses depressed as at Sant' Angelo-in-Formis, the shadows of flesh tints are green, the lights streaked with white, the hair mapped out in masses defined by lines. This purely Byzantine method, which may be seen in three heads saved from the mosaics of the front after the fire of 1823, would prove that the whole of this church was adorned with mosaics by Greeks.[1]

Paintings akin to those of San Paolo may be seen in the chapel of San Silvestro, near the church of Santi Quattro Coronati.

The Saviour enthroned, with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist at his sides, holds the cross, and the twelve apostles sit huddled together on each hand—a most unpleasant and common product of the Byzantine art of the twelfth century.[2]

Wandering out of Rome in search of further examples, we stop at Subiaco, where we seek in vain for paintings of the time of St. Benedict.

[1] These mosaics are greatly restored, but in general the careful Byzantine execution may still be traced.

The three heads in the vestibule of the corridor near the entrance to the sacristy of San Paolo are finished with all the care and mastery of those of Cefalù. The cubes are closely packed, the flesh parts well defined and expressing the forms, the features and wrinkles marked by fine hair outlines, the ears large and defective, the lights clear yellow and shadows grey, the lips bright.

A much-restored mosaic of the same class, but very unpleasant, and representing formless figures of small size, is a Christ between the Virgin and other female saints, SS. Lawrence and Honorius III., in the porch of San Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome.

Inside the same church are paintings of the same period on the walls about the sepulchral monument of Cardinal William Fieschi (1256). They represent the Saviour enthroned between St. Lawrence and St. Hippolitus on one side and St. Stephen and St. Gustavus on the other; St. Lawrence presenting Pope Innocent IV., and St. Stephen, Cardinal Fieschi, and the Virgin and Child. These are very feeble relics of thirteenth-century art, as displayed in long, lean, and motionless figures of incorrect design and very dull colour. But the head of the Saviour, in a very finely cut cruciform nimbus, is more angular in shape than might be expected.

[2] According to Agincourt these paintings bore the date 1248, which is now obliterated. Art could scarcely fall lower than it is here. The Saviour's head is of a circular shape, the frame ill-designed, and the feet enormous. Muscular developments are indicated by false lines. The figures are stiff and flat, the colour dull and without transparence. It is not very long since these paintings were subjected to retouching and renewal, which has much impaired the old character of the work.

* These very inferior works scarcely deserve mention. They are not in any way representative of the Byzantine art of the period.

On the bare rock in the so-called Seconda Grotta di San Benedetto, one of the natural caves which tradition assigns as a residence to the holy man at the Sacro Speco, a Virgin and Child of warm tones, marked outlines, and large staring eyes, reveals the technical treatment of the artists of Rome at the close of the eighth and rise of the ninth centuries. A figure of the Saviour between two angels and St. Benedict, much damaged and in great part repainted, outside the cave, betray the ruder manner of the twelfth century. Equally poor, and of the same period, are the paintings on the entrance wall of the Sala di San Benedetto in the lower part of the Sacro Speco itself, to the left of which a vaulted niche contains a Virgin, Child, and angels, inscribed: MAGISTER CONXOLUS PIXIT HOC OP[1] whilst to the right Innocent III. gives a papal bull to John IV., abbot of the Sacro Speco. The green shadows, yellow flesh lights, and bright red patches on the cheeks and lips are of the Roman character of the thirteenth century.[2] The triple vaulted ceiling of the Sala is of the same century, and possibly of an earlier time than that of Conxolus. A Lamb in the centre of the first carries a cross and is surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists with human bodies, and the heads of an angel, an ox, an eagle, and a lion.[3] The second represents St. Benedict with saints in the circumjacent space, one of whom, only, St. Lawrence, is not modernised.[4] The third is devoted to the Saviour between St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, St. Andrew, and four angels bearing sceptres. The chapel of San Gregorio, in another part of the Sacro Speco, is enlivened by a representation which, according to an inscription on the wall, is the consecration by Gregory IX. (A.D. 1227–41) of two holy personages. They are represented standing, whilst an angel hovering over them seems to address a figure which, from the name on the wall, is the monk Odo. All these paintings, with the exception of the Virgin and Child in the cave of St. Benedict, may be assigned to the close of the twelfth and rise of the thirteenth centuries, a time in which

[1] A picture on panel, representing St. Benedict in his cave receiving food from St. Romanus, with compartments in which scenes in St. Benedict's life are depicted, is in the abbey of Subiaco, and assigned to Conxolus; but it is now totally repainted.

[2] History records the date of this bull, which is of June 24th, 1213, but does not vouch for the date of Conxolus' existence. John IV. died after 1220. The painting is in part rubbed away and the figure of Innocent renewed.

[3] Here, also, the colour is sombre, the outlines marked. In the angel the flesh tones are yellowish, the shadows green. The form of the latter figure is slender, but it has been altered by retouching.

[4] SS. Sylvester, Peter the Deacon, Gregory, Romanus, Maurus, Onoratus, Placidus are repainted.

Romans and Byzantines were equally feeble. They must not be confounded with works of a later date in the Cappella della Vergine, a St. Gregory dated 1479, attributed to "Stammatico Greco," whose name is written high up on a pilaster opposite the Scala Santa. Amongst these are scenes of the Passion and of the life of St. Benedict and his disciples, which cover two vast spaces on the walls and ceilings after entering the church; the most important of them, such as the Baptism and allegories on the Scala Santa itself, betray, by peculiar forms of composition and a third-rate talent, the work of a Greek of the fourteenth century. Nor would it have been necessary to mention these humble compositions were it not desirable to reduce to their proper value productions which have sometimes been placed on a level with those of Cimabue and Giotto.[1]

The Sacro Speco was visited in 1216 by St. Francis, whose self-imposed mendicancy and miracles were illustrated at a later period by the greatest painters of Italy. It was perhaps on the occasion of this visit that an artist employed in the abbey tried to paint his portrait on the wall of the chapel in which the consecration of Gregory IX. was afterwards represented. On a wall to the right of the entrance to the chapel a life-size friar is depicted in a high conical cowl and the frock and cord of a mendicant. His appearance is youthful. One hand holds a scroll inscribed with the words PAX HVIC DOMVI, and at the sides of the head are the letters FĒR FRĀCISCŪ. Though partially restored and retouched the face is not without character. The features are regular, the brow open, the eyes large, and the nose straight. The tonsure is visible across the forehead and along the temples to the ears, which are not remarkable for smallness. A straggling beard, and a downy upper lip complete a far more pleasing portrait than those which in hundreds, at a later time, were placed in every monastery and convent of the Fransciscan order.[2] It is remarkable that the hands are depicted

[1] The writer of a volume published in French at Rome in 1855, entitled *Imagerie du Sacro Speco*, affirms of Conxolus that he improved on the Byzantine manner earlier than Cimabue. He forgets that Stammatico is of a later age than Giotto. Certain paintings in a parlour of the Sacro Speco, which are in the manner of Antonatius of Rome, Tiberio d'Assisi, or Melanzio, are described by the same author as foreshadowing the art of Raphael.

[2] A miniature kneeling figure of a donor at the monk's feet seems to have been added at a later time.

without the stigmata, and if this be a genuine portrait it must have been executed, if not in 1216, at least before 1228, when St. Francis was canonised. As a work of art it differs in nowise from other early pictures in the Sacro Speco.[1] It was not till the end of the century that St. Francis became a type. In the chapel contiguous to the sacristy of the convent of the Angeli at Assisi[2] the saint is shown standing, and painted, about half the size of life, on the wood of his own pallet. The fact is vouched for by the words, HIC LECTUS MIHI FUIT VIVENTI ET MORIENTI, written on a book in the friar's hand, whilst on the lower border of a carpet forming the background another inscription refers to the impress of the stigmata. A gold arabesque nimbus surrounds the bare head, a cross in the right hand and an angel on each side with the reed and host complete the picture. St. Francis here is a round-headed man with a contracted brow, small eyes, a long thin nose, and a mouth indicated by three straight lines. In another portrait in the sacristy of San Francesco of Assisi the head is bony and lean, and the forehead beyond measure high. The staring gazing eyes have a frightened look, and the nose a depression familiar in late Byzantine works.[3]

In S. Maria Maggiore of Toscanella, an old town about fourteen miles from Viterbo, the semidome of the apsis contains remnants of a painting representing Christ between the archangels with the apostles beneath him. Great as the injury has been which this wall painting has undergone, it still leaves an impression of age, and may have been executed between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of the same time is the decoration of the apsis of the church of St. Peter in the same place.

Here we see a colossal figure of Christ enthroned with the orb in his right hand and the gospel in his left. Angels with open wings sing canticles. Below, and at the sides of the episcopal throne in the semidome, the apostles are depicted, and lower still there are busts of male and female saints in rounds. Traces on the face of the semidome arch point to the existence in the past of the mystic Lamb, the book and candles, and the symbols of the Evangelists.

[1] This portrait of Francis, without a nimbus, has been restored. The background is all repainted.

[2] The chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo.

[3] These representations are not portraits of the saint; they are fantastic ideal portraits, painted with the intention of setting forth his sufferings and self-sacrifice.

Other paintings in these edifices are of later make, and date from the time of the Giottesques.

In the northern parts of Italy art was practised with varieties that sometimes distinguish it from the art of Rome and its vicinity.

At Parma, between 1200 and 1281, painters of no great power adorned the double octagon of the baptistery with courses of subjects inclosed within spaces framed in simulated sculptural ornament.

In the upper course of the dome the twelve apostles are enthroned in ribs of ornament radiating towards the centre of the cupola, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the intermediate spaces; in the second course the Saviour is enthroned in the act of benediction, with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist standing at his sides,[1] and numerous prophets in niches; in the third course scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist are depicted, one of which is the Baptism of the Saviour given in the form adopted for the catacombs of Rome. The Redeemer appears in the middle of a running stream, St. John on the right bank imposing a hand on his head, and on the left stand three angels. A miniature figure at the Saviour's feet holds a reed shaped into the form of a cross, an obscure and curious addition to the scene, yet repeated in a second baptism on the wall behind the altar of the baptistery.[2] Beneath the balcony of the dome the recesses of the arches are likewise painted with scenes from the Old and New Testament,[3] and amongst them is a strange winged figure rendering the monster with four heads and innumerable eyes, the car of fire, and the symbols of the Evangelists described in the vision of Ezekiel, an angel in relief, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata.[4]

Without being free from retouching, or in parts from total renewal, the greater portion of these paintings still preserves

[1] The hair of the figure of the Saviour is repainted, as also the head of St. John the Baptist, part of the vestments, nimbuses, and background.

[2] This Baptism is almost obliterated.

[3] Some of these are retouched and others quite modern, as, for instance, the Visitation.

[4] This recess has been much repainted, and the figure of St. Francis with a nimbus seems to have been added later, as here he is supposed to have received the stigmata.

* These paintings are by some second-rate artists of the Roman school, and were executed about 1279. If, for instance, we compare the Abraham and the three Angels with the sacrifice of Isaac in the upper church at Assisi we see how close is the connection between the two cycles. The works at Parma are, however, by artists much inferior to those of Assisi.

some original character. The Saviour in Majesty is striking from the contrast of the puny frame with the large head disfigured by wrinkles and grotesque prominences. A forked lock overhanging the forehead reminds us of similar details at Ravenna. Defects of a similar character mark the round head of the Virgin, whose brows are twisted into pothooks, whilst the nose starts downward from a beetling projection. The broken draperies of the Saviour's dress contrast as much with the flowing ones of the prophets, as His feeble body and large head contrast with their small faces and square frames. In these prophets we note repose, in other figures, in the beheading of St. John the Baptist, violent action which passes all reasonable bounds. The nude is no better than might be expected from the unskilled craftsmen of the time; and the long thin figures are inevitably marked by anatomical defects and formless extremities. Abrupt juxtapositions of light and shade, the draperies of an uniform colour, streaked with white in the lights and black in the shadows, vehement action peculiar to Eastern painting, and breadth of shape characteristic of the Romans—all reveal the same technical methods as do those of Nepi or Sant' Angelo in Formis.[1]

At Florence the tribune annexed (A.D. 1200)[2] to the baptistery of San Giovanni was worked in mosaic by one Jacobus, a monk of the order of St. Francis, in the year 1225.[3]

[1] The low state of art towards the end of the thirteenth century is manifested in a picture in the museum at Parma inscribed MELIOR PINXIT A.D. 1271, where a Saviour in Benediction, holding a book, embodies types and forms of the most repulsive kind, combined with curious gold ornamentation, and nimbuses stuffed with real stones. The colours, which emulate the hues of the snake, are thickly laid on, the outlines heavily marked and defined, and the forms merely symbolic. The Virgin and St. Peter, St. John and St. Paul at the sides, are of equally hideous character, and placed in round niches supported on short thick columns.

* This picture is by no means representative of the best art of the latter part of the century. In the last three decades of the Trecento the schools of Rome and Siena were already producing, as we shall presently see, works of great artistic merit. [2] VASARI, *Le Vite*, etc. (Florence, Le Monnier, 1846), i., p. 284, note 3.

[3] Fra Mariano's chronicle of the Franciscan Order, and Mark of Lisbon, are the first (annot. to VASARI, *Vite* (Ed. Le Monnier), *Life of Tafi*, i., p. 291) who affirmed that the mosaist Jacobus, who executed the ornaments of the tribune of the baptistery, was a native of Torrita. Vasari (i., p. 284) followed them, but this opinion is not supported by records, and is founded on a superficial reading of the

The mosaic fills the triangular spaces of the vaulted ceiling, the outer frame and the soffit and sides of the arch leading into the tribune. In the ceiling, the central medallion inclosing the Lamb with a banner is supported by figures half angel half caryatide, resting on vases, at the sides of which are two deer. Each of the intermediate spaces contains two figures of prophets[1] in a fiddle ornament, the whole surrounded by a circular framing supported in the diagonals by four kneeling figures resting on capitals, whilst on the prolongation of the diameter sit enthroned St. John Evangelist and the Virgin and Child. The frame of the entrance arch is divided by thirteen medallion busts of the Virgin (centre) and twelve prophets, the archivolt by medallion busts of the Baptist (centre) and twelve apostles. Beneath the capitals at the angles of the ceiling, four scrolls bear each two lines of an inscription, proclaiming the date and author of the work.[2]

These mosaics may be compared with advantage to those of the baptistery itself, executed at a later period by Tuscans. It will be observed that the decoration of the tribune is not Florentine, but Roman, and of that peculiar style which characterises the mosaics of San Clemente[3] and of Santa Maria in Trastevere. The mosaics of the tribune of San Giovanni at Florence are, in fact, one of the last products of a school based on the imitation of the antique, which had for centuries been at home in the capital of the popes.[4] The system of

inscription on the apsis mosaic of S. Giov. Laterano at Rome. The mosaist there signs himself "Jacobus Torrit.," and historians have jumped at a conclusion from the similarity of the Christian name and profession of Jacobus.

* Jacobus, the Franciscan friar who worked in the Florence Baptistery, is a very inferior artist to the Roman Jacopo Torriti.

[1] Eight in all: Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, all standing.

[2] ANNUS PAPA TIBI NONUS CURREBAT HONORI
AC FEDERICE TUO QUINTUS MONARCA DECORI
VIGINTI QUINQUE CHRISTI CUM MILLE DUCENTIS
TP̃A CURREBANT PER SEC̃LA CUNCTA MANẼTIS
HOC OPUS INCEPIT LUX MAI TUNC DUODENA
QUOD DOMINI NOSTRI CONSERVT GRATIA PLENA
SANCTI FRANCISCI FRATER FUIT HOC OPERATUS
JACOBUS IN TALI PRE CUNCTIS ARTE PROBATUS.

[3] As regards the style of the figures, not as regards ornamentation.

*[4] This statement has been abundantly confirmed by subsequent research. Recent discoveries demonstrate the continuity of the Roman school, and tend to prove the comparatively late origin of the school of Florence.

diagonal ornamentation recalls — though without its lightness —that which in the first centuries of Christian art filled the catacombs. A reminiscence of the antique may be traced in the broad forms of the prophets about the medallion of the Lamb, in the movement and massive draperies of the apostles in the archivolt.[1] The Virgin and St. John, though defective in form, angular in contours, and coarse in extremities, are still fairly proportioned. The types are less Byzantine than those of Cimabue. There is no superabundance of gilt ornament, no confused arrangement such as detracts from the beauty of some productions of Rome; relief is given by a judicious mass of grey shadow in the flesh tints, and soberness everywhere prevails.

The name of Jacobus, the mosaist of Florence,[2] now takes us back to Rome, and to a series of works in San Giovanni Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore.

The mosaic of the semidome in San Giovanni Laterano appears from its arrangement, which resembles that of San Stefano Rotondo, to have been an old one, altered and renewed in the pontificate of Nicolas IV., A.D. 1290. Beneath a bust of the Saviour, surrounded by a glory of angels, a large cross, surmounted by the dove, and guarded at the base by a seraph between two towers, separates two lines of saints. To the left the Virgin presents the miniature figure of Pope Nicholas IV., by whose side is a small St. Francis, and taller figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. To the right are St. John the Baptist, a small St. Anthony, St. John Evangelist, and St. Andrew. Deer and other animals surround the base of the cross, under which the four streams well out into a river filled with figures of cupids in boats.[3] This mosaic is inscribed on the left side of the lower border, JACOBUS TORRIT. PICT. HOC OP. FECIT. A critical examination of it may possibly clear some disputed points.

The head of the Saviour is not cast in the coarse mould of the thirteenth century. It has the simple outline of that in Santa Costanza, or the apsis of Sant' Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna,

[1] The head of St. John the Baptist in the archivolt is lean, the hair frizzled. Yet the character and type are not Byzantine, as in Cimabue.

*[2] There is no proof that the friar Jacobus was a Florentine.

*[3] It is not quite correct to say that the river is filled with figures of cupids in boats. Here and there in the stream are swans, and a few small boats carrying naked children.

THE APSE MOSAIC
In S. Giovanni Laterano, Rome

Alinari, pho.

I.—*To face p.* 78

with a fine flow of falling hair, a long full beard and regular features, and a simple nimbus of one line drawn on a blue background decked with red clouds. It is a type and form which gives Torriti high rank amongst the Christian imitators of the antique, but which differs essentially. from those by the same mosaist in Santa Maria Maggiore, to which we must presently return; nor would it be easy to maintain that the same artist could at one moment produce the Redeemer in the form of the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries, and at another in that of the thirteenth. Amongst the angels in the glory one on the extreme right seems to have been renewed by Torriti. The head and mantle of St. Paul, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, Nicolas IV., St. Francis, and St. Anthony are likewise renewed or introduced by him. It is evident, indeed, that the three last-mentioned personages are modern in comparison with the rest, not fitting the place they occupy, either in accordance with the laws of space, or the distribution of the older parts. The mosaic bears no trace of the style of Jacobus of Florence.[1]

Far different is the character of a mosaic forming a lower course to that of the semidome.

Here, between the windows, and parted by trees, are nine prophets of square frame and broad neck, whose draperies and attitudes and action resemble those of the baptistery of Florence. On the lower border to the left is a miniature figure of an aged Franciscan with a compass and rule. On the lower border to the right is a youthful kneeling Franciscan with a hammer striking on a board. This figure is inscribed FR̃. JACOB. DE CAMERINO SOC̃I MAGR̃I OPIS̃ RECOMMENDAT SE MIẼ PI ET . . . ITIS (MERITIS) BEATI JOHĨS.[2] There can be little doubt this this mosaic is the work of the old Franciscan with the compass and rule painted on the left, whose name is not inscribed, or, having been inscribed, is lost, and that his assistant is the monk Jacobus da Camerino. In no case can the mosaic be assigned to Jacobus Torriti, whose name is only on the mosaic of the semidome. The old Franciscan may be the

[1] The head of the Saviour may have undergone repair, but if so, it maintains the character described, namely, that of imitation of the antique. The figure of St. Andrew is quite modern.

[2] One Giacomo da Camerino is recorded amongst the painters at the Duomo of Orvieto in 1321 by Della Valle (*Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, fol., Rome, 1791, p. 383), yet there he is not spoken of as a friar.

same who laboured in the tribune of the Florence baptistery, but this can only be assumed from the similarity of style between the two mosaics. As to the date of this lower course of mosaics there can evidently be no certainty, but that it preceded the labours of Torriti is probable.

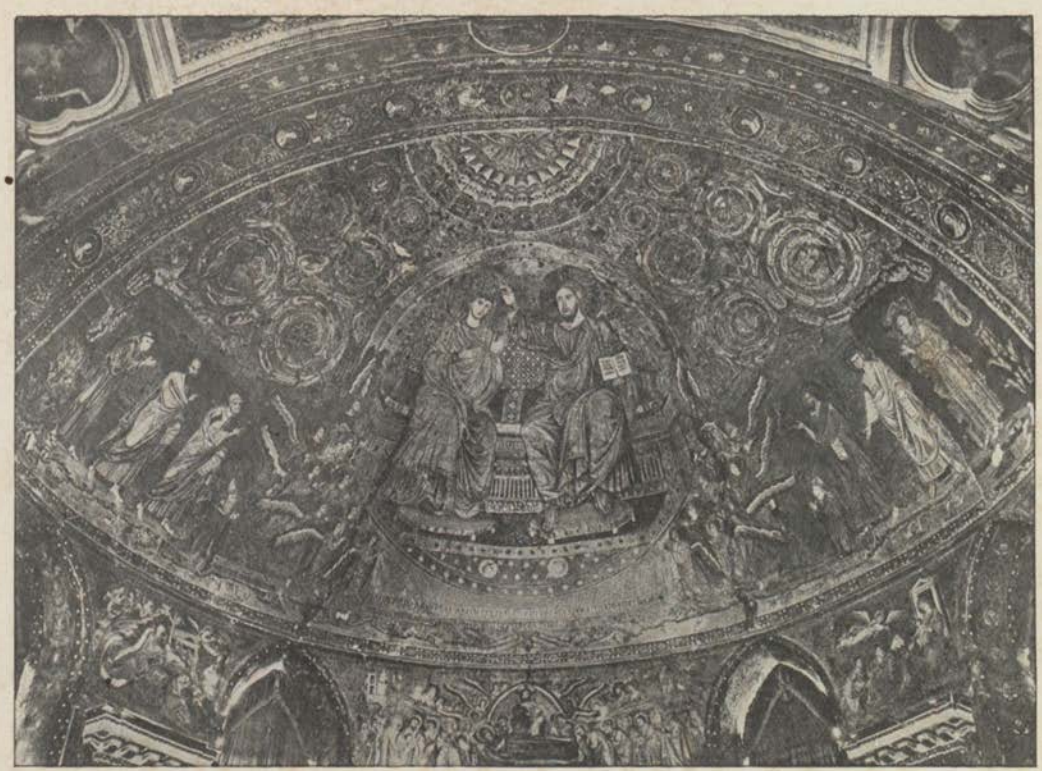
Jacobus Torriti in his true character may be studied in the apsis mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin at Santa Maria Maggiore.

Richness of ornament and gaiety of colour are the only claims of his work to attention. The Saviour, closely draped in a gold shot mantle, is of a heavy frame. The large head, inclosed in a mass of rolling hair, is of a round shape; the eyes are large and gazing, the nose depressed, and the mouth ill-shaped. Draperies are thrown into a maze of folds concealing the figure and movement. The Virgin is thin, her head of exaggerated size. The saints are long, lean, and lame in attitude, the angels only a little less defective.

All these faults are glaring because of the enormous size of the mosaic. They are less conspicuous in the small compositions, because they still preserve some antique characters combined with a moderate air of life and nature. The artist's name is inscribed on the left-hand border of the semidome, JACOBUS TORITI PICTOR HOC OPUS MOSAICEN FECIT, with the date 1295 on the opposite side. His style is that of a painter who acquired some of the experience which a new generation of craftsmen was now daily appropriating. But his skill is shown in decoration, and not in the more important branches of design and composition.[1]

[1] Vasari, having come to the conclusion that Jacobus the Franciscan of Florence was a native of Torrita, and having made of him and of Jacobus Torriti one person, confuses matters still further by affirming that "Fra Jacopo da Torrita was taken from Rome to Pisa where, with the assistance of Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi, he executed in the Duomo the Evangelists and other works, afterwards finished by Vicino" (VASARI, i., p. 285). Vasari here possibly confounds Fra Jacopo with one Turretto, a mosaist, whose name is cited in records published by Ciampi. The mosaics of the Duomo of Pisa were not begun before 1300; of Vicino a word later.

* See MILANESI, *Storia dell'Arte Toscana, scritti varj*, p. 76.



THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN
By Jacopo Torriti
From a mosaic in the tribune of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome

Alinari, pho.

I.—*To face page* 80

CHAPTER III

THE COSMATI AND PIETRO CAVALLINI[1]

WE now reach the moment when Florence becomes exceptionally celebrated for the skill with which painters revive the traditions of true art. Men of repute follow each other in rapid succession, each one displaying such progress towards mastery as must needs lead within a comparatively short space of time to absolute perfection. Altarpieces are produced which not only charm contemporaries, but claim respect and admiration from judges of the present age. We have seen obscure craftsmen, such as John, Stephen, and Nicholas, cover the walls of Sant' Elia of Nepi with rude distemper. Conxolus paints in the Sacro Speco of Subiaco with art little better than that of Bizzamano of Otranto.

* [1] This chapter and the succeeding chapters of this work are not entirely free from a quality which is to be found in the works of almost all critics and historians who wrote upon Italian art in the last century, a quality which may be called Florentinism. It is difficult to exaggerate the strength of local patriotism in Italy, and unfortunately the scholars of that country are, as a rule, as much under the influence of this emotion as other Italians. By far the greater part of Italian art history and art criticism is affected by it.

Florentinism is by far the most important manifestation of Italian local patriotism, of *campanilismo*, in the field of literature. This prejudice is chronic even in those of her children whom Florence has ill-treated and cast from her: it breathes in the writings of her adopted sons. Alien critics and historians, too, have been infected by it for reasons which are not far to seek. Until the present generation Siena has been well-nigh dumb on her hilltops, and Rome has produced but few distinguished historians of modern art. Florence has always been voluble. She has talked much of her own achievement, and has talked well. Thanks to the literary genius of her filial panegyrists, she has gained the ear of the civilised world. And when Dante is singing, or Boccaccio telling stories, or Villani discoursing of the deeds of heroes, or Vasari, finely imaginative journalist that he was, weaving pleasant anecdotes about artists, men do not heed the mumbled protests of Dry-as-dust.

The great heresiarch of art history, the chief disseminator of Florentinism, was her adopted son, the author of the *Lives of the Painters*. All the late-born

We shall presently watch the Cosmati adorning the churches of Rome and its neighbourhood with mosaics, and Florentines—such as Jacobus and Torriti[1]—decorating with similar[2] ornament the sacred edifices of Rome and Florence. We shall also trace the career of the Berlinghieri of Lucca, who chiefly deal in crucifixes or ideal figures of St. Francis; Margaritone of Arezzo, who sometimes executes Madonnas, but also deals in the effigy of

traditions, all the patriotic myths that local prejudice gave birth to and nurtured in an unscientific age, found a place in his great work. And unfortunately for the cause of truth, Vasari, like Defoe, was a born story-teller, and could give an air of verisimilitude to his worst fictions.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle did more to overthrow Florentinism than any of their predecessors. But even they, the true pioneers of scientific criticism, were not altogether free from its influence. For only in recent years has it been possible to estimate how much it has affected art history and art criticism. The authors had not fathomed the depths of Vasari's prejudices, and consequently they accepted too readily his statements and the statements of other Florentine writers in regard to artists like Cavallini and Duccio. Vasari post-dated Duccio's career, placing his biography amongst those of the later Giottesques. He also post-dated the career of Cavallini, and made him a pupil of Giotto. In the following pages we shall see that the two great Italian schools of painting in the last quarter of the thirteenth century were the Roman and the Sienese. The old Tuscan school, whose representatives were Giunta Pisano, Margaritone of Arezzo, and Coppo di Marcovaldo, was far inferior to these two schools. The old Roman school had preserved its existence throughout the early Middle Ages, and its increased vitality in the thirteenth century was one of the manifestations of the true proto-renaissance which had its origin, like the contemporary revival of sculpture in Tuscany, in a return to antiquity. The revival of painting in Siena was one of the indirect results of the previous Byzantine renaissance. But early in its history the Sienese school was affected by northern Gothic influences, owing to the presence in Siena of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano.

Of the artistic achievement of Cimabue, Giotto's supposed master, we know nothing certainly. We do know of authentic works of Cavallini and of Cavallini's predecessors, and we see in them one of the chief influences that helped to mould the young Giotto. The conclusions derived from the study of such works as Cavallini's rediscovered frescoes in S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, and his mosaics at S. Maria-in-Trastevere, are confirmed by the statements of Ghiberti. Ghiberti, a much earlier and more reliable authority than Vasari, though a Florentine, merely alludes to Cimabue as one who painted in the Greek manner; but Cavallini he speaks of as one of the greatest masters of his age, and gives a list of his works, praising them enthusiastically.

*[1] There is no evidence to show that either Fra Jacopo the Franciscan or Jacopo Torriti was a native of Florence. The probability is that Jacopo Torriti was a Roman, or was trained in Rome.

*[2] The mosaics of the Florentine Baptistery are very inferior to those executed by Jacopo Torriti in Rome.

St. Francis; Gilio and Dietisalvi of Siena, who paint portraits of excisemen[1] for the book covers of the accounts of the municipality; and Vigoroso, of the same school, a painter of Madonnas of the same time as Coppo di Marcovaldo of Florence. At Pisa we shall note, by the side of nameless and very old vendors of crucifixes, Giunta Pisano, who gradually rises to the rank of illustration of the Franciscan legend in the church of San Francisco of Assisi. Numerous examples of painting will be found on the way, which not only bear no name, but all of which are classed in one category, and create the impression that the thirteenth century has left upon art the stamp of a hopeless mediocrity.

Suddenly, and to our great surprise, Florentine art emerges.[2] The mosaics of Torriti at Santa Maria Maggiore of Rome precede by three or four years only the appearance of the greatest master of the Tuscan revival. Giotto, the most celebrated of early Italian painters, has been preceded by the incompetent Tafi, and by Cimabue, an artist entitled to excellent repute at Florence. Giotto's fame extends far away through Italy to Naples in the south and Verona in the north, and in 1298 he pays his first visit to the Vatican.[3] At the same time Arnolfo, already renowned as a sculptor, and partner of Niccola Pisano at Pisa and Siena, also came from Tuscany to practise in the Roman capital.

*[1] The official whom Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call an exciseman, and whose portrait is to be found on more than one of the tavolette in the Siena archives, was the Camarlingo of the Biccherna. It was one of the highest offices in the Commune, and may be roughly compared to our Chancellorship of the Exchequer. One of the *tavolette* is by Gilio di Pietro, three are by Dietsalvi. HEYWOOD, *A pictorial chronicle of Siena*, Siena, Torrini, 1902; LISINI, *Le Tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena*, Florence, Olschki, 1902; PAOLI, *Le Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella nell' Archivio di Stato di Siena*, Siena, Tip., Ancora, 1891; GEFFROY, *Tablettes inédites de la Biccherna et de la Gabella de Sienne*, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'Ecole française de Rome*, 1882, tom. ii., pp. 415–434. For an account of the duties of the officials of the Biccherna, see HEYWOOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–28, and DOUGLAS, *A History of Siena*, pp. 110–112. Heywood gives a list of the *tavolette* at Siena.

*[2] The Roman school preserved its independent existence until the time of the Babylonish Captivity. In consequence of the absence of the Pope and his Court, Roman masters were deprived of their best patrons, and many artists left the turbulent, poverty-stricken metropolis. It was then—and not till then—owing to the genius of Giovanni of Pisa, Duccio and Simone Martini of Siena, and Giotto of Colle, that Tuscany, not Florence alone, became the chief centre of Italian art.

*[3] When Giotto first came to Rome is by no means certain. He was probably at work there some years before 1298.

Rome, in fact, was just entering upon the path in which, so far as art is concerned, she remained for centuries. Having almost ceased to promote her own local school, she learnt to put her trust in the schools of other Italian cities, in which the pontiffs, by means of an irresistible supremacy, were able to command the services of every master of distinction.

Unfortunately the potent impulse of the revival had not the immediate effect of killing all other artistic efforts in the cities of Italy. Rapid as the spread of reform became as it radiated from the centre to the north and south of the Peninsula, it was preceded by attempts at reform in the Neapolitan territories, and in Rome itself, where a guild with numerous ramifications held its ground, under conditions which enabled the masters to work in all the sister arts together. The modern division of craftsmen into sculptors, painters, and architects was for a time ignored, and the same person was alternately employed in erecting buildings, carving statuary, or designing pictures and mosaics.

The chief representatives of this curious association at Rome were the Cosmati, who furnished several generations of artists, in every branch, within a century. None of the associates or partners acquired a name beyond the limits of the Roman province. One of them lived to feel the influence of Giotto's example; but, like his predecessors in the same line, he held locally an almost absolute command.[1]

The first intelligence which we have of their activity in a variety of undertakings we receive at Civita Castellana, north of Rome, where the pilasters and friezes of the cathedral portal are decorated with mosaics of the Lamb and the symbols of the Evangelists, and the authors of the decoration are named in an inscription, which describes Laurentius and Jacobus his son as masters at Rome.[2]

In the lunette of a lateral portal of the same church is a bust

[1] The Cosmati have been noticed by Agincourt, by Cicognara, and by Della Valle. Rumohr (*Forschungen, u.s.*, i. pp. 270–1) devotes a few lines to them. Their merits were best understood by Karl Witte, of Breslau, of whom an interesting paper appeared in the *Kunstblatt* (Stuttgardt and Tübingen, series of the year 1825), beginning at No. 41.

[2] LAURENTIUS CUM JACOBO, FILIO SUO, MAGISTRI
DOCTISSIMI ROMANI HOC OPUS FECERUNT.

figure in mosaic of the Saviour in benediction, with a cruciform jewelled nimbus round his head, and holding a book. A natural movement and fair contours mark the figure, which has none of the grimness peculiar to the twelfth century. On the architrave below this bright tinted work are the names of Jacobus and his employer.[1] Close by, on the frieze below the cornice of a portico, we read another inscription which concerns Jacobus, a "citizen of Rome," and his son Cosmas, with fragments of a date of about the year 1210.[2] The mutilated letters clearly point to the family of the Cosmati, who practised as Roman mosaists and architects in the first half of the thirteenth century, whose names once certified the *ambones* of Santa Maria-in-Araceli, and are still seen on the pillars of the bishop's seat in Sant' Alessio at Rome, and on the stone pavement of the cathedral of Anagni.[3]

On the dwarf arch of a cloister at Santa Scolastica of Subiaco, Cosmas' name appears in an inscription which also comprises his sons Lucas and Jacobus.[4] The same names occur in a couple of

These two artists worked also at the old church of Falleri, three miles from Civita Castellana, where, according to Karl Witte, is the following inscription:—

✠ LAURENTIUS CUM ✠ HOC OPUS
JACOBO FILIO SUO QUINTA VATT.
FECIT HOC OPUS. FIERI FECIT.

Kunstblatt, u.s., 1825, No. 41.

[1] MA . . . JACOBUS M. FECIT, } ✠ RAINERIUS PETRI RODULPHI FIERI FECIT.

[2] MAGISTER J . . OBUS, CIVIS ROMANUS CUM
. . SMA FILI . . J . . U . . ANIS HOC
OPUS ANNO DN̄I MCCX. . . .

[3] At Santa Maria in Araceli on three pieces of the old ambones: LAVRENCIVS CUM JACOBO FILIO SVO VIVS OPERIS MAGI · TER FVIT. See also Forcella's *Inscrizioni* (fol., Rom., 1867), i., 131.

At Sant' Alessio: ✠ JACOBUS LAURENTII FECIT HAS DECEM ET NOVEM COLUMPNAS CUM CAPITELLIS SUIS.

At Anagni: DN̄S ALBERT. VENERABILIS ANAGNIÆ EP̄S FECIT HOC FIERI PAVIMENTUM PI. COSTRUENDO MAGISTER RAINALDUS ANAGNINUS CANONICUS DN̄I HONORII III. P.P. SUB-DIACON. ET CAPELLAN C. OBOLOS AUREOS EROGAVIT MAGIST̄ COSMAS HOC OP. FECIT.

[4] Subiaco, S. Scolastica. Inscription: COSMA ET FIL LUC̄ ET JA . . . . ALT . . ROMANI CIVES IN MARMORIS ARTE PERITI. HOC OPUS EXPTERUNT ABATIS TP̄E LAUDI." According to records which K. Witte quotes, the date of this inscription is 1225.

lines on the pediment of the altar in the lower basilica (A.D. 1227–41) at Anagni.[1]

Later on in the thirteenth century Jacobus rises to the chieftaincy, and signs his partnership with Cosmas his son in a much-injured mosaic in an arched recess above the portal of San Tommaso in Formis, once a refuge for liberated slaves, and since transformed into a villa on the Celian Hill.[2] The signature on this piece runs along the arching of the gateway. Above it a medallion with a golden ground contains an effigy of Christ enthroned, extending his hands to a white and black captive on each side of him. Passing from this poor and much-disfigured mosaic to other work in more frequented parts of Rome, we visit the graceful chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, probably by Jacopo, inscribed on the left-hand pilaster of the entrance with the words MAGISTER COSMATUS FECIT HOC OPUS.[3]

The vault is supported on four slender pillars, and the light streams in from a range of trefoil windows resting on twisted columns. The groined ceiling is painted with the symbols of the Evangelists, and the faces of the arches with subjects from the lives of the Saints Peter, Paul, Stephen, Lawrence, Agnes, and Nicholas; but these are all so completely restored as to disarm criticism.

Coincidence of style with the mosaics of Civita Castellana and the Villa Mattei may allow us to assign to Jacobus Cosmatus or his son Giovanni a mosaic of the Virgin and Child in benediction, with the half figure of an angel at each side, in a lunette above

[1] MAGISTER COSMAS CIVIS ROMANUS
CUM FILIIS SUIS LUCA ET JACOBO HOC OPUS FECIT.

On the wall of the same edifice, according to Karl Witte, was the following: ANNO DN̄I MCCXXX I XI DIE EXEUNTE APRILI, PONT. DN̄I GG. VIIII, P.P. ANN. EJ. V VEN. ALBERTO EPŌ, RESIDENTE I. ECC. ANAG. P. MAN. MAGR̄E, COSME CIVIS ROMANI FUIT AMOTUM ALTARE GLORIOSISSIMI MART. PRESULIS MAGNI INFRA QUOD FUIT INVENTUM I Q̄DAM PILO MARMOREO RUDI PRETIOSUM CORP. IPS. MART. Q. KT. MAJI SEQNTIS TOTI P. P. PUBLICE OSTENSO EODEM DIE CUM YM̄PNIS ET LAUDIB. IN EODEM PILO SUB ALTARI HOC ORATORIO IN IPSIUS HONOREM CONDITO FUNDITUS ET RECONDITUM CUM HONORE. On the back of the altar: HIC CORPVS MAGNI REQVIESCIT PESVLTS ALMI.

[2] Rome, Villa Mattei. Inscribed: MAGISTER JACOBVS CVM FILIO SVO COSMATO FECIT HOC OPVS.

[3] The Sancta Sanctorum at Rome was rebuilt in the pontificate of Nicholas III., A.D. 1277–81.

the door leading from the Capitol to the church of Araceli. The Virgin is represented in an attitude of dignity and repose, but the design and handling will not bear any close inspection, though something in the method of the artist indicates a local Italo-Roman art and a feeling akin to that already manifested in the Giottesques. For whilst the head of Mary is broad and her features conventional, there is delicacy in the slender hands and some sense of rounding in the modelling. The treatment altogether shows improvement upon that, for instance, of San Clemente. At Civita Castellana the Saviour is of a natural and regular form, which already marks the figures at Sant' Urbano alla Caffarella, and even discloses a link by which to assign to the local Roman school the tribune mosaics of San Giovanni of Florence. The mosaic of the Virgin and Child at Araceli, on the other hand, seems to have been executed at a time when the influence of Giotto in transforming the old manner was felt, and when Byzantine types were remodelled in a more ideal Christian form.

Amongst the monuments which bear characteristic features of resemblance with the architecture of the Cosmati is that of Cardinal Anchera (1286), now transferred to the Cappella del Crocifisso, near the high altar of the church of Santa Prassede. Another monument of somewhat different character, but of the thirteenth century, is the tomb of the Savelli in the chapel of that family at Araceli. It is based on an old sarcophagus filled with bacchic ornaments, and is crowned by an edicule, on the summit of which is the statue of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour. Mosaics are let into the columns, as in other monuments of the time of the Cosmati, yet this tomb is assigned by Cicognara to the Sienese Agostino and Agnolo, who are supposed to have executed it from the drawings of Giotto.[1]

Of Johannes Cosma, who may not unnaturally be considered

[1] A manifest error, if dates and style be considered. The tomb contains the bodies of Luca Savelli, father of Honorius IV., who died 1266, and other members of the family. The latest date on the tomb is 1306. There is some resemblance between the tomb of Cardinal Anchera, described in the text, and that of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) in the W. transept of the Nuove Grotte in the basilica of St. Pietro at Rome, a tomb which Vasari, in the Giuntina edition, assigns to Arnolfo, saying that it is inscribed with his name. Cicognara gives

the son of Jacopo, monuments have been preserved which reveal a universal talent for mosaic, architecture, and sculpture. The tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo in Santa Maria Maggiore is inscribed with his name.[1]

The recumbent statue of the cardinal lies in episcopals on a slab, whilst two angels standing at the sides reverently disclose his person by lifting the folds of a winding sheet. A cloth hangs over the tomb, which is worked in mosaic; and a trefoil niche contains a mosaic of the Virgin enthroned holding the infant Saviour, and supported on each side by the standing figures of St. Martin and St. Matthew. Ready movement and nature in the attitudes reveal the progress of art in the family of the Cosmati.[2]

But Johannes Cosma displayed more surely the impulse given to art by Giotto[3] when, in 1296, he executed the tomb of William Durand, Bishop of Mende, at Santa Maria-sopra-Minerva, where earnestness of purpose and judicious balance of parts are combined with progress in the rendering of form.

The bishop is represented at full length on the slab of a tomb covered with an embroidered cloth, whilst two winged angels, firmly standing at each extremity, raise a curtain. In the recess formed by an arch supported on inlaid pillars, the Virgin sits enthroned in a vast chair, holding the infant Saviour in the act of blessing, between a saint in episcopals and the bending form of St. Dominic. This group is executed in mosaic, now half repainted, restored in stucco, the arch forming the recess and the scutcheons on the front of the tomb being,

an engraving of it (i. Pl. xxii.), adding in the text that the name of Arnolfo was not to be found there, and that the tomb is in the style of the Cosmati.

* There is no doubt that this tomb originally bore an inscription stating that Arnolfo had executed it. See DE ROSSI, *Raccolta di iscrizioni romane*, etc., in the *Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, 1891, p. 78 *et seq.*

[1] HIC DEPOSITUS FUIT QUONDĀ DN̄S GUNSALVUS EP̄S ALBANĒN̄
ANN. DN̄I M°.C°CLXXXXVIIII.
HOC. OP. FEC. JOHĒS MAGRI COSME CIVIS ROMANUS.

[2] Agincourt (ii., text, p. 51, note a) sees the hand of Arnolfo in the sculpture of this monument, and that of Johannes Cosmatus in the architecture; but what of the mosaic?

*[3] We believe that the merits of this work and of other contemporary works by Roman artists were in the main the result of a local revival of art, of which there is abundant evidence. This movement, which began in pre-Giottesque times, following a natural evolution, reached its climax in the achievement of Pietro Cavallini.

like the pillars, similarly adorned. The figure of Durand, evidently a portrait, is broadly chiselled. The angels are of Giottesque form and proportion, though still imperfect in the drawing of the features. The draperies are, for the time and place, a remarkable instance of progress. In the mosaic the stature of the personages is fair and well proportioned. A large head on a thin neck, a melancholy expression in the almond-shaped eye, may be noticed in the Virgin. There lingers something still of the old Roman forms of the eleventh and twelfth century. The nose is depressed and masculine, but the hands are slender and long-fingered. The infant Saviour is well proportioned, and the saints pleasing by their natural air of humility. The group, indeed, is remarkable for a certain resigned expression and the absence of that grimness which so long characterised the Italo-Byzantine manner.[1]

In 1304 the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Acqua Sparta was erected in the left transept of Araceli. It is conceived and carried out on the same principle as that of Durand, but adorned in the recess with painting instead of mosaic.

On the lid of the tomb is the bishop in episcopals, with angels raising the curtain; in the recess, the Virgin and Child enthroned, St. Francis presenting the kneeling figure of the deceased, and St. John Evangelist; on the key of the arch of the recess, a painted bust of the Saviour in benediction; and on the arch and pillars, mosaic patterns.

Interesting works of the school of the Cosmati are mosaics which cover the lower part of the tribune and arch of the tribune in Santa Maria-in-Trastevere.

[1] The whole of the lower part of the mosaic, including almost the whole of the kneeling bishop, the draperies of the Virgin from the knees downwards, is restored with painted stucco. There is quite a family likeness between this monument and that of Cardinal Anchera at St. Prassede. On the base of the tomb are the words:

HOC EST SEPULCRUM DN̄I GULIELMI DURĀTI ĒPI MIMATENSIS ORD. PRED . . . . REDIIT DOMINI SUB MILLE TRECENTIS QUATUOR AMOTIS ANNIS. JOHS̄ FILIUS MGR̄I COSMATI FEC. HOC. OP.

In a corner is the following: CAMILLUS CECCARINI RESTAUR FECIT ANNO 1817.

Van der Hagen, in *Briefe*, etc., gives the following inscription on a tomb in St. Balbina at Rome:—

✠ JOHĒS FILIUS MAGR̄I COSMATI FECIT HOC OPUS . . . HIC JACET . . . . DOMIN. STEPHAN D. SURD. DN̄I P P. CAPELLAN.

Kunstblatt, 1825, No. 41.

On the sides of the arch are the Birth and the Death of the Virgin. In the tribune itself the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. These compositions are put together on old lines, but they are remarkable for balanced distribution of masses, truth and animation of figures, and fair design and colour. If not entirely free from exaggerated action, the artist knew how to temper the passion of one figure by the comparative repose of another. In the Birth of the Virgin well-poised groups may be particularly noticed. St. Anna, in a fine attitude, is attended by two servants with a jug and basin, in graceful action; and this incident, which in the pose of the Virgin recalls the antique, is kept in judicious equilibrium by another in the foreground, representing a female with the infant Virgin on her knees, stooping to feel the temperature of the water in a pan which another figure is filling. The forms of the infant are natural and regular, and the figures, though slender, in correct and telling movement. The Nativity is equally well distributed, the Virgin still in the old shape, but the angels not without graceful elevation. In the Death of the Virgin the subject is animated, whilst in the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi, the types are still reminiscent of the Italo-Byzantine manner in their exaggerated character, revealing the struggle between new elements in art and old forms. In colour these mosaics are harmonious. Their execution is painstaking, the drawing fairly accurate, the drapery good, the masses of light and shade well defined. Santa Maria-in-Trastevere is, in fact, to the school of the Cosmati what Assisi is to Giotto.

In the space beneath the foregoing subjects at Santa Maria-in-Trastevere is a mosaic representing the bust of the Virgin and Child in a medallion tinted in prismatic colours.

The Saviour looks down towards a kneeling figure of Bertoldo Stefaneschi presented by St. Peter, whilst St. Paul looks on at the opposite side.[1] In front of Bertoldo is his scutcheon, with the words repainted in oil, BARTOLUS FILIUS PET . . . The Virgin may be said to represent, in her face and draperies, the perfection of the manner of the Cosmati. The features of the Saviour and the folds of his red mantle, touched in gold, are finely wrought. The figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, both long and slender and of noble mien, are well draped, individual in character, and modelled in good relief with broad masses of light and shade.

[1] These saints stand on a meadow, the rest of the background being gold. The feet of St. Paul, the left foot of St. Peter, and part of the kneeling figure are repainted. St. Paul wears a blue tunic and purple mantle, St. Peter a blue tunic. Part of the flowers on the foreground and part of the inscription are repainted.

Here Byzantinism has disappeared, and made room for the improved style of Giotto. Life and individuality succeed to the defects of earlier times. Giotto has evidently shed his influence on the artist; and if it be true that the upper scenes of the life of the Virgin were commissioned by Bertoldo Stefaneschi in 1290, he must have ordered the votive mosaic at the very close of the century.[1] Vasari affirms that Pietro Cavallini is the author of the mosaics in the tribune of Santa Maria-in-Trastevere.[2] If this be true, which we should not deny,[3] he deserves high rank amongst the painters of this time who preserved the style of the Cosmati[4] and the traditions of the Roman school combined with new Tuscan elements.[5]

*[1] Navone and Rossi have shown that the mosaic was probably executed in the year 1291. See NAVONE, *Di un musaico in Santa Maria Trastiberina*, etc., in the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, i. (1878), 219.

*[2] Ghiberti, who was probably in Rome before 1400, mentions these mosaics in his list of Cavallini's works.

[3] DE ROSSI, in *Musaici Cristiani* (Rome, 1878), describes having found the capital letter P in a circle surmounted by a cross in the left-hand corner of the framing of the mosaic, and it is suggested that this letter is indicative of Pietro Cavallini. See *Zeitsch. f. b. R. anno 1878, Beilage*, p. 288.

* In the seventeenth century there still existed the ancient inscription: . . . . US . . . . IT PETRUS, which Rossi reads thus: HOC OPUS FECIT PETRUS.

[4] Before taking leave of the Cosmati it may be proper to assign to them in their architectural capacity a fine Roman porch, with a square front of white marble, erected by one of the Gaetani family as entrance to a hospital, but now serving as ingress to the church of St. Antonio Abate at Rome. In style it is like the porch of Civita Castellana cathedral and the gate of the Villa Mattei. Inscribed:—

DN̄S PETRUS CA . . . ŌC CARD. MANDAVIT CŌSTRUI HOSPITALE LOCO ISSTO (*sic*) ET DN̄I . . . O TSSCVL. EP̄S ET I. GAETAN, CARD. EXECUTORES ET FIERI FECERUNT PA . . . CE DN̄I PET. CAP̄ CC.

The twisted pillars of inlaid mosaic in the cloisters of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura also look like Cosmati work.

The Cosmati family is said to have had a descendant—Deodato or Adeodato, to whom a marble tabernacle in Santa Maria in Cosmedin is assigned, and of whom it is likewise said that he laboured in Santa Maria Maggiore, but no record exists that connects this Deodato with the name of Cosma. See note in comment. to Proemio of Vasari's lives, i. p. 213. The only trace of a Cosmato at Santa Maria Maggiore is the name of Johannes on the tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo. The words MAGISTER DEODATUS FECIT HOC OPUS are noted by CIAMPINI, *Vett. Mon.*, tom. i., p. 181, on a tabernacle of 1290 in Santa Maria in Campitelli at Rome.

*[5] We do not find these Tuscan elements in Cavallini's achievement. His style, as revealed to us in the recently discovered frescoes at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, is directly inspired by the antique. It is quite distinct from the more naturalist style of Giotto though it probably inspired it. The return to antiquity led to a return to nature.

The birth of Pietro Cavallini has not been recorded. He was an artist of talent,[1] and it would seem extensively employed at Rome when Giotto visited that capital. Vasari tells of his labours in many parts of Italy, but nothing is certain as to this except that he was employed at a good salary by King Robert of Naples in 1308.[2] Unfortunately for Cavallini's fame, his works in Southern Italy have perished, but we may still assign to him with some propriety a mosaic in San Crisogono at Rome,[3] representing, on a large scale, the Virgin enthroned with the Infant in benediction, supported by St. James holding a book, and St. Chrysogonus, in a warrior's dress, grasping a sword.[4]

A slightly Byzantine character, more noticeable than at Santa Maria-

*[1] Ghiberti writes with enthusiasm of Cavallini, describing him as "un dottissimo e nobilissimo maestro." He also states that he was "dottissimo fra gl 'altri maestri," and says that he had not seen better mosaics than those by Cavallini at S. Maria-in-Trastevere. See *Vita di Lorenzo Ghiberti, scultore fiorentino . . . con i commentarj di Lorenzo Ghiberti*, edited by C. Frey, Berlin, Hertz, 1886, p. 38.

[2] See the original document in H. W. SCHULZ, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalter* (4to, Dresden, 1860), iv. p. 127. He is described as receiving thirty ounces of gold per annum, with two ounces in addition for lodging.

* See also NAVONE, *Di un musaico di Pietro Cavallini in S. Maria in Trastevere*, Archivio di Società Romana, vol. i. 218, and SALAZARO, *Pietro Cavallini, Pittore, scultore e architetto Romano del XIII. Secolo, Nota Storica*, Napoli, 1882.

*[3] The better knowledge that we now have of Cavallini leads us to assign these mosaics to some inferior master of the Roman school.

[4] In the tribune of the transept behind the altar. The paintings assigned to Cavallini in San Crisogono (VASARI, ii., p. 81) no longer exist. The frescoes in Araceli are likewise gone (*ibid.*, p. 82), and the same fate has attended the frescoes at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere and St. Francesco-presso-Ripa (*ibid.*, ii., p. 82).

* The most important existing works of Pietro Cavallini are his frescoes at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, which have recently come to light again. These frescoes are mentioned by Ghiberti, who saw them in or about the year 1397, and who was, as we have seen, an admirer of the works of Cavallini. They are closely related to the works by the same master in S. Maria-in-Trastevere. These frescoes cover three sides of the Coro delle Monache. Of the chief of them, the Last Judgment, the upper portion representing Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the Apostles, is on the whole in good condition. On the right wall is a St. Christopher and an Annunciation; on the left are a few remains of other frescoes. Hermanin (*Le Gallerie Italiane*, 1902) has shown that they were probably executed in or about the year 1293. The fresco of the Last Judgment reveals Cavallini as a painter of the highest order, an artist whose style is founded upon an intelligent, independent study of the antique. The heads of the figures he paints reveal the influence of classical sculpture. The cranium is round, the forehead broad; the nose is straight; the brows are arched and well formed; the eyes are large and open.

Christ.

By Pietro Cavallini.

A detail from a fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome.

in-Trastevere, would place this mosaic amongst the earlier works of the master. The Virgin, of a majestic presence, still displays, in unfavourable contrast, feeble lower parts and overweight of head. Her eyes are somewhat large and open. The child's head is regular and its attitude natural. The figures generally are long, but well draped, and the colour not unpleasant.

Of the paintings in this church, assigned to Cavallini by Vasari, not a trace remains, but there are still vestiges of frescoes in the church of Santa Maria-in-Trastevere, which, though damaged by time, are in the style of the mosaics of the tribune.

Above a door, to the right, inside the entrance, is a half figure of the Virgin with the infant Saviour holding the orb and giving the blessing. This group is inferior to the mosaics in design; and whilst the large head and slender neck, the defective hands of the Virgin betray a certain feebleness, the marked outlines and angular draperies, and the absence of relief by shadow, prove that Cavallini was more skilled in mosaics than in painting.[1] Another Virgin with a puny Saviour in her arms, a little less defective than the foregoing, but much repainted in the draperies, may be noticed near the chief portal. In the porch outside are two frescoes, one of which represents the Annunciation with a figure of a prophet, the second depicts the same subject, with the addition of the Eternal sending to the Virgin the Infant bearing a cross.[2]

Cavallini here is a follower of the Roman school, yet an eminent

Here, as elsewhere, we find no trace of Byzantine influences. The ear is the worst drawn of all the features, and varies little. Large above, it is very small below, and has scarcely any lobe.

Cavallini takes great pains in the painting of the hair. Every hair is drawn separately; but with all his care in regard to detail, the artist never forgets the general effect he aims at. He also varies considerably the arrangement of the hair.

Most remarkable of all is his drawing of drapery. He arranges it in large, full folds. Like all his work, his drapery has some of the dignity and freedom of the antique. In the drawing and modelling of drapery his frescoes at S. Cecilia are distinctly superior to the early works of Giotto. This fact alone tends to disprove Vasari's unsupported statement that he was Giotto's pupil. At S. Cecilia we see the work not of a scholar but of a master of Giotto, or at least of an older painter who powerfully influenced him in the most impressionable years of his life.

* [1] Cavallini's recently discovered frescoes at S. Cecilia do not support this opinion. They are on a higher plane than his mosaics.

[2] Since the above was published, the fresco of Christ and the Virgin have been altogether re-modernised. The two Annunciations have likewise been almost entirely overpainted, the last, however, more than the first.

master. It must have been fortunate for Giotto that, on his arrival, he should have found such a man ready to assist him.[1] It was but natural that Cavallini, having helped a stranger in the mosaics of the old basilica of San Pietro, should insensibly adopt something of that stranger's style.[2] It is clear, as Vasari states, that Cavallini was Giotto's disciple and "mixed his manner with that of the Greeks."[3] After taking instruction in Rome he adopted, at least in mosaics, something of the Florentine manner. But he went still further, and in adorning the arches of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, he was content to carry out the designs of Giotto even after Giotto had left Rome.

On the arch of the tribune, the Virgin and Child enthroned and guarded by two angels are represented also in mosaic with the symbol of St. John Evangelist, and on the opposite side Pope Benedict XI. in prayer (A.D. 1303–5) presented by St. John the Baptist, with the symbol of St. Mark the Evangelist. The medallion in the centre of the arch, representing the Saviour in benediction with the book, is held aloft by two Giottesque angels in fine attitudes; the symbols of the Evangelists Luke and Matthew being depicted at each side in the more modern Florentine manner. The figures of St. Benedict and St. John the Baptist, as well as that of the Saviour in the medallion of the arch, are modernised; but the rest of the mosaic shows that in 1305, but a few years after the departure of Giotto from Rome, an artist, probably Cavallini, was found willing and able to carry out a Giottesque design.[4]

*[1] There is no early reliable evidence for the statement of Vasari that Cavallini assisted Giotto. In the passage in the *Necrologium*, in which the works that Giotto executed in Rome for Cardinal Stefaneschi are mentioned, no allusion is made to the Roman master.

There is no proof that Cavallini executed any existing work at San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura; and certainly there is no early authority for the statement that he carried out designs made by Giotto. Cavallini's works at S. Paolo, mentioned by Ghiberti, perished in the fire of 1823.

[2] VASARI, ii., pp. 81, 82.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 82.

* The evidence of Cavallini's own works does not support Vasari's statement that the Roman master mixed his manner with that of the Greeks. Cavallini had a distinctly personal style, a style which, like that of Niccola Pisano, owed little to Byzantium, and was based upon an imitation of classical antiquity. The influence of the masters of the second golden age of Byzantine art stimulated the masters of the old Roman school, and led them to study the antique at first hand. In the latter part of his career, Cavallini, like Niccola Pisano, was slightly affected by northern Gothic influences, but he never lost his own individuality.

[4] According to Vasari, Cavallini executed the mosaics of the front and nave of San Paolo, which perished in the fire of 1823 (VASARI, ii., p. 82).

CHRIST SURROUNDED BY ANGELS

By Pietro Cavallini

A detail from a fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, Rome

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Had Vasari said that Cavallini painted the apsis of San Giorgio-in-Velabro, the subject of which is the Saviour standing on the orb, with the Virgin, St. George on horseback, St. Peter and St. Sebastian at his sides, he would not have been far from the truth. This work indeed seems but a repetition of an older mosaic in the same place, yet the execution betrays something of the Giottesque manner, whilst the types and slender forms of the saints about the Saviour are reminiscent of the mosaics of Santa Maria-in-Trastevere. This much-injured and restored painting, of which the lower half is renewed, was ordered by Cardinal Gaetano Stefaneschi after 1295. It has been assigned to Giotto himself.

Vasari brings Cavallini to Florence and names him as the painter of the Annunciation, a fresco in the church of San Marco.[1] The Annunciation of San Marco is very different in character from the paintings and mosaics of Rome.

The Virgin sits on the right of an interior on a cushioned bench. Before her is the bending figure of the angel with a vase of lilies in front and traces of a kneeling person behind him. Above was no doubt the Eternal sending the dove of the Holy Ghost, whose ray alone may now be seen illuminating the Virgin's forehead.

This much-damaged and repainted fresco may have been executed by a painter of the fourteenth century. It recalls Angelico, though possibly of an earlier period. The stature and forms of the figures are not without elegance; but the half-closed eyes, the small mouth and chin, and the absence of all feeling betray a very inferior artist.[2] If anything can be assigned to Cavallini in San Marco it is not the Annunciation.[3] On the wall to the left, inside the portal of the church, a comparatively recent

[1] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 539. Other works given to Cavallini at San Marco, the portrait of Urban V. with SS. Peter and Paul, were whitewashed in the time of Vasari (*ibid.*, p. 540).

[2] Not the slightest resemblance can be traced in this Annunciation to those in the church of Santa Maria-in-Trastevere at Rome.

*[3] E. Gerspach has contended that this Annunciation is by Cavallini; but his arguments are by no means convincing. This fresco resembles no known work of Cavallini, and is of a much later date. See GERSPACH, *Un "Annunziazione" del Cavallini;* in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1901, Disp. 4*a*.

scraping has brought to light the head of a saint facing the spectators. Other fragments of similar work have been found on the wall to the right, and these may be remnants of Cavallini's labour.

A miraculous Annunciation at the Santissima Annunziata in the Servi of Florence is a repetition, as regards the subject, of the fresco of St. Mark, and so seldom visible to profane eyes that the absence of an opinion may be pardoned. Richardson notes this particularity, that the Virgin swoons away at the apparition of the angel.[1] A third Annunciation of San Basilio, which doubtless perished in the demolition of that church (A.D. 1785), completes the series of paintings at Florence to which Vasari alludes. Continuing his journey through Italy, Cavallini, according to Vasari, painted a Crucifixion and other incidents of the Passion of the Saviour[2] in the north transept of the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi.[3] But the biographer here seems to confound Pietro Cavallini with Pietro Lorenzetti. That he put the materials of Cavallini's life together at haphazard is sufficiently proved at Orvieto, where he assigns to that master the frescoes of

[1] *An Account of some Statues . . . and Pictures in Italy* (8vo, London, 1722), p. 79; VASARI, ii., p. 85. See also in RICHA, *Chiese Fiorentine* (Florence, 1754), viii., p. 89, a chapter on this Annunciation, with a supposed criticism by Michael Angelo. The tradition at Florence was that the Virgin's face was painted by an angel.

[2] VASARI, ii., p. 82. BALDINUCCI (*Opere.*, 8vo, Milan, 1811, iv., p. 250) assigns to Pietro Cavallini a fourth Annunciate Virgin in the church of Orbetello at Florence. But he admits that the church was only built in 1372.

* [3] There is no work of Pietro Cavallini in the Lower Church at Assisi; but since the discovery of the frescoes of Pietro Cavallini at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere it has become clear that some of the earlier works in the upper church are by Cavallini's school. The following frescoes in that church are by masters of his school:—The Creation of the World, the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, the Temptation, the Expulsion from Paradise, Noah and the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Abraham and the Three Angels, the Betrayal of Judas, and the Nativity. In these works we discover all the characteristics we have noted in the S. Cecilia frescoes. We find the same ear, broad above, and very narrow below with scarcely any lobe. We find the same finely designed drapery with its strong suggestion of direct classical influence. We find, too, the same carefully painted hair. Every single hair is painted separately, and yet the artist never forgets the general effect. The nose is straight. The mouth has no melancholy, the eyes no languor. The old men have no Byzantine decrepitude: they belong to a race that was born to rule. What vigour and dignity has the figure of Abraham in the Sacrifice of Isaac!

SIX APOSTLES

By Pietro Cavallini

A detail from a fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, Rome

I.—*To face page 92*

the chapel of the Santissimo Corporale, signed by their author, Ugolino di Prete Ilario.[1]

The only disciple[2] of Cavallini, according to Vasari, is Giovanni da Pistoia, to whom a few lines may be devoted at the proper time.[3]

[1] VASARI, ii., p. 84. That Cavallini was a successful sculptor need excite no surprise, were it proved that he executed any works of that kind. The examples of the Cosmati were near at hand and numerous at Rome, but the wooden Saviour on the crucifix in San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura (Cappella del Crocifisso) is of that colossal and developed anatomy which betrays the age of Donatello more than that of Cavallini. See VASARI, ii. p. 85.

*[2] Vasari's statements in regard to Cavallini are absolutely untrustworthy.

In the Munich Gallery (979 and 980) there are two interesting works by some master of the Roman school, a follower perhaps of Cavallini. In each panel are three scenes. In the first are (1) The Virgin Enthroned, (2) Christ washing the disciples' feet, and (3) the Last Judgment; in the second, (1) Christ on the Cross, (2) Christ bearing the Cross, (3) St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. In the figure of Christ and in the heads of angels we find the same peculiar types that are now to be seen in Cavallini's rediscovered frescoes at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere.

*[3] Cavallini was buried in S. Paolo. According to Vasari, his funeral epitaph was:

QUANTUM ROMANAE PETRUS DECUS ADDIDIT URBI
PICTURA TANTUM DAT DECUS IPSE POLO.

CHAPTER IV

NICCOLA AND GIOVANNI PISANI

ABOUT the time when a new impulse was given to the arts of the builder, the carver, and the painter at Rome, Pisa witnessed a revival of sculpture which was not without influence in the development of Siena, Florence, and Rome itself.

Pisa, during the thirteenth century, was one of the most important trading republics of Italy. The rapid expansion of her commerce had procured for her an abundant return in wealth and power. But art had lagged at a considerable distance behind her trade, and painting as well as sculpture was feebly practised and inefficiently supported. At a moment of deep depression, local craftsmen were surprised by the sudden appearance or the rapid rise of a stranger whose skill appeared more marvellous than even that of Cimabue. No one could understand how such talents had been developed at a moment and in a district where sculpture was practised by guildsmen entirely confined within the traditions of the declining schools. But it was not in Pisa only that sculpture was in the hands of a low class of craftsmen. Throughout the length and breadth of the country north of Rome, and even in large cities like Florence, Lucca, and Pistoia, a similar depression was apparent; and such was the poverty of the art displayed in all extant examples that no one could anticipate a speedy rise out of a decline so complete. Yet history asks us to believe that the rise occurred unexpectedly, suddenly, and without intervention of elements foreign to the central Italian schools.

Before we inquire how it happened that Niccola Pisano so rapidly and, as it were, without preparation became the sole representative of the greatest development that sculpture had

HEAD OF AN APOSTLE [*From a photograph supplied by the Minister of Public Instruction*

By Pietro Cavallini

A detail from a fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, Rome

ever taken in Central Italy, we must devote some little space to proofs of the low state to which the craft had really been brought.

The earliest extant carved work in Tuscany was set up by two brothers, Gruamons and Adeodatus, who have left us some slender figures of the rudest fashioning on the architrave of the doorway of S. Andrea, and above the side portal of San Giovanni-Fuorcivitas at Pistoia. The subjects in the first instance are, The Coming of the Kings of the East, the Epiphany, and Christ calling Andrew and Simon from their Nets; in the second case, The Last Supper. Both works are certified with the artists' names, and the first bears the date of 1166.[1]

Contemporary with Gruamons is Rodolfus of Pistoia, who carved figures of the Saviour and the apostles on the chief portal of San Bartolommeo-in-Pantano.[2] At Sant' Andrea, again, the reliefs on the pilasters of the chief portal, representing incidents from the New Testament, are the defective production of one Enricus.

Rude as the sculptors of Pistoia are those of Lucca, one of whom is Biduinus, who left some carved work on the architrave of the portal of the ex-church of San Salvatore.[3] The period in which Biduino lived is revealed in bas-reliefs at San Cassiano, near Pisa.[4] He was an artist at the close of the twelfth century, and neither better nor worse than Gruamons of Pistoia. Robertus, his contemporary, is the author of scenes from the Old Testament on a baptismal font, to the right inside the portal of San Frediano at Lucca. He was a sculptor less feeble than Gruamons.[5] One of the best-preserved monuments of the twelfth century, however, is the quadrangular pulpit of San Michele at

[1] The date 1166 and the sculptor's name are both correctly given in MORRONA, *Pisa Illustrata* (Livorno, 8vo, 1812), ii., p. 33.

* See REYMOND, *La Sculpture Florentine: Les prédécesseurs de l'ecole Florentine et la Sculpture Florentine au XIV. Siècle.* Florence, Alinari, 1897. pp. 50, 46. The date of the Last Supper is about 1280.

[2] Inscribed: RODOLF (?) NO. S.P. ANNI DOMNI. MCLXVII.

[3] Inscribed with the words: BIDUVINO ME FECIT HOC OPUS.

[4] Signed: HOC OPUS QUOD CERNIS BIDUINUS DOCTE PEREGIT. UNDECIES CENTUM ET OCTOGINTA POST ANNI TEMPORE QUO DEUS, EST, FLUXERANT, DE VIRGINE NATUS (MORRONA, *u.s.*, ii., p. 39).

[5] His font is inscribed: MI.I.I.E CLI ROBERTUS MAGIST . . .

Groppoli,[1] the sides of which were filled in 1194 with low reliefs in soft stone, illustrating scenes from the New Testament.[2]

Defective as those of Gruamons at Sant' Andrea, the figures here are cut into slabs of flat stone without any sort of rounding. The subjects are in the old traditional forms; the figures, like dolls, with draperies marked by rectangular or circular incisions. The flat square heads form but one plane with the neck. The limbs hang, as it were by threads, together, the features being merely scratched on the surface.[3]

About the close of the twelfth century, one Bonamicus covered the frieze of the east gate of the baptistery at Pisa with carvings of the Redeemer, the Virgin, St. John, apostles, and angels.[4] The same flat surface with incisions may be noted here, and perfect identity of style reveals the artist Bonusamicus who carved one of the tombs in the Campo Santo.[5]

A life-size figure in a niche of the Duomo, near the gate of San Raineri, reveals the same hand. Yet it may be observed that the figures of Bonamicus are more stunted than those of Groppoli.[6] That this sculptor lived at the close of the twelfth

[1] Now the oratory of the Villa Dalpino—five miles on the road from Pistoia to Pescia.

[2] The Visitation, the Nativity, and the flight into Egypt. A serpent at one of the angles supports the desk. The pulpit is on columns, the capitals of which are filled with heads of animals and monsters, the bases resting on the backs of lions. Of the latter, one paws a man, the other a dragon.

A mutilated inscription may still be read as follows:—

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS (*sic*) GUISCARDUS . . .
PLEB . . . ANNO DŃI MIL. CLXXXXIIII.

[3] An archangel killing the dragon, of old above the portal and now transferred into the church, is an example of the same style. [4] Half-lengths.

[5] ✠ OPUS QUOD VIDETIS BONUSAMICUS FECIT. P. EO ORATE.

On this tomb, to the left of the entrance in the Campo Santo, is carved the Saviour, enthroned in an elliptical glory, the symbols of the four Evangelists, and the Lamb and star. Beneath is a figure of David playing, not intended for this tomb, but by the same hand.

[6] The annotators of Vasari cite an inscription in the church of Mensano, near Siena, as follows: ✠ AGLA. OPUS QUOD VIDETIS BONUSAMICUS MAGISTER FECIT. PRO EO ORETIS.

* The cabalists attributed great power to the word *agla*, pronounced at turning towards the east. The word is formed of the initial letters in the words of a sentence in Hebrew, which signifies, "Thou art powerful and eternal, oh Lord!" See ROSA GAB., *Il vero nelle scienze occulte. Studi.* Milan, 1855, pp. 33, 34.

THE VIRGIN AND SIX APOSTLES
By Pietro Cavallini
A detail from a fresco of the Last Judgment in the Church of S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, Rome

[*From a photograph supplied by the Minister of Public Instruction*

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century is apparent from the resemblance of his work to others of that time. The baptistery of Pisa was founded in 1153,[1] and remained incomplete till 1278. It may therefore be inferred that Bonamicus was one of the first artists employed there.

A better sculptor, but still of feeble powers, is Bonanno, founder of the bronze gates of the cathedrals of Pisa and Monreale. Noteworthy is the fact that casting in bronze is in the hands of one man,[2] who practises in all parts of Italy, finishing in 1180 the gates of the Pisan Duomo, which were to perish by fire in 1596, and in 1186 those of Monreale, in Sicily, which time has fortunately spared. Forty-three compositions, taken from the gospel, inclosed in the framework of the doors at Monreale, appear to be duplicates of those which Ciampini engraved as those of Bonanno at Pisa.[3] It is impossible to discover any difference between these and the gates of the south transept of the Pisan cathedral, the subjects of which have been described by many as grotesque and exaggerated,[4] although less defective than those of Gruamons or Biduino, and not older than the middle of the twelfth century. The date may, in fact, be determined with certainty by observing the mode in which the Crucifixion is represented. The Saviour is exposed on the cross with a nail to each foot. The body is slightly bent and the head inclined towards the Virgin, who stands at the base of the instrument of death. The eyes are closed. The Redeemer

[1] As appears from Sardo's chron. in *Archivio storico*, iv. p. 83, with funds in part granted by Roger, King of Sicily—by Deotisalvi, as is vouched for by the following inscription on a pilaster: M.CLIII. MENSE AUG. FUNDATA FUIT HĒC ECCLESIA; on an opposite one: DEOTISALVI MAGISTER HUJUS OPERIS. Of the same architect is S. Sepolcro of Pisa, inscribed on a marble of the Campanile: HUJUS OPERIS FABRICATOR DS̄ TE SALVET NOMINATUR.

* [2] The authors forgot for the moment other bronze doors of this period—the doors of Trani (1160), Ravello (1179), and the north door of the Duomo of Monreale by Barisano of Trani, as well as the doors of Benevento (1150), which were certainly not the work of Bonnano, and the doors of St. John Lateran (1196).

[3] The gates of Bonanno were dated 1180. They perished in a fire October 25 (Pis. style), 1596. MORRONA, *u.s.*, i. p. 169-70, and CIAMPINI, *Vet. Mon.* The gates of the Duomo of Monreale by Bonanno are inscribed: MCLXXXVI. IND. III. BONANNUS CIVIS PISANUS ME FECIT. They represent thirteen scenes from Genesis, seven from the patriarchs and prophets, twenty-three from the New Testament.

[4] MORRONA (i. pp. 314-15), whose patriotism cannot be denied.

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on the cross was never depicted with closed eyes in the eleventh century. At Sant' Urbano in Rome and Sant' Angelo-in-Formis he is alive and serene. It was not till the twelfth century, as at San Clemente (Rome), that the idea of agony and death was expressed. We may therefore consider the south gate of the cathedral, which includes the whole of the life of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Ascension, and the death of the Virgin, to have been executed by Bonanno in the latter half of the twelfth century, the series displaying a level of skill barely higher than that of which we have evidence in the works of Gruamons and his contemporaries at Pistoia.[1]

With scarcely any perceptible progress sculpture was practised in Parma at the close of the twelfth century (1178–96) by Benedictus,[2] respecting whom we may record the following:—

On the pilasters and lunette of the northern gate in the baptistery of Parma, he carved the roots of Jesse and of Joachim, and scenes from the life of the Saviour and St. John the Baptist. On the pilasters of the eastern gate, the seven works of mercy, the parable of the labourers in the vine; on the architrave, the resurrection, and in the lunette, the Last Judgment. On the third gate, a medallion of the Saviour in benediction with the Lamb, and St. John the Baptist at his sides; and in the lunette, the trees of good and evil and allegorical subjects.[3]

All the reliefs are in the manner of Benedictus, whose name will be found attached to better, though still poor works in the interior of the cathedral.

Prominent amongst them is a Descent from the Cross, a relief of

[1] Bonanno may be the same who, in 1152 to 1164, gave designs for the walls of Pisa. (See Muratori.) The subjects on the gates are: The Annunciation, the Visitation, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Baptism of Christ, the Temptation, the Transfiguration, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Capture, the Crucifixion, the Descent to Limbo, Christ at the Sepulchre, the Ascension, and the Death of the Virgin.

* [2] More generally known as Benedetto Antelami. See ZIMMERMANN, *Oberitalienische Plastik im frühen und hohen Mittelalter.* Leipzig, Liebeskin, 1897. REYMOND, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–45; and TOSCHI, *Le sculture di Benedetto Antelami a Borgo san Donnino*, in *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, 1888, fasc. i., p. 14.

[3] On the architrave of the northern gate is the inscription: BIS BINIS DEMPTIS ANNIS DE MILLE DUCENTIS INCEPIT DICTUS OPUS HOC SCULPTOR BENEDICTUS.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC *Alinari, pho.*

ROMAN SCHOOL

From a portion of a fresco in the Upper Church, Assisi

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twenty-two figures, in the third chapel to the right inside the chief portal, and bearing the sculptor's name and the date of 1178.[1]

The crowding of the space with actors in vertical and horizontal position, the bad disposal of the groups, the straight lines of drapery, and the false contours and proportions of frames too slender for the weight of the heads would alone indicate a low development of art; but we said, it is early work. The Saviour is represented with a nail to each foot. The idea of serenity is lost in the grimace of a suffering face. Yet the *dramatis personæ* are not represented without feeling, and it may be that such a representation would be impressive in its day, when painted and coloured as it seems to have been at its first exhibition.

Years continued to elapse, and sculpture still remained almost in this primitive state. At Lucca, the front of the church of St. Martin was completed in 1204 by one Guidectus, who perhaps excelled Benedictus in the proportions, movement, draperies, and nude of his figures. Yet in a high relief of St. Martin on horseback dividing his garment, great rudeness of execution still remains.[2] Later works in the portico of the same church, representing scenes from the life of St. Martin, allegories of the seasons, the Saviour in glory guarded by two angels, the Virgin and the twelve apostles on the architrave, show that as late as 1233 sculpture had still a weary progress to make before it could be entitled to serious attention.[3]

Later again a sculptor of Pisa adorned the pilasters and architrave of the eastern gate of the baptistery with scenes from the Old and New Testament,[4] the composition of which contrasts

[1] In the following form: ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTUAGENO OCTAVA SCULTOR PATUIT (?PATRAVIT) MENSE SECUNDO ANTELAMI DICTUS SCULPTOR FUIT HIC BENEDICTUS.

[2] An inscription—

MILLEQUE SEX DENIS TEMPLUM FUNDAMINE JACTO
LUSTRO SUB BINO SACRUM STAT FINE PERACTO

shows that this church was founded in 1060.

On the front beneath the last column to the right of the gallery, a figure holds a scroll on which is written: MILLE CCIIII. CONDIDIT ELECTI TAM PULCRAS DEXTRA GUIDECTI. Guidectus is the architect and probably also the sculptor of the front.

[3] The following inscription is in the portico: HOC OPUS CEPIT FIERI ABELENATO ET ALDEBRANDO OPERARII A.D. 1233.

[4] On the pilasters, the Saviour in glory, with incidents of his life concluding with the limbus and a figure of David, the seasons in a winding ornament; on the

advantageously with those of Bonamicus on the frieze above them.

The figures are distinguished by a certain movement and animation, by good proportion in their slenderness, and by fairly designed draperies. The principal one of the Saviour in benediction is not without dignity, and technically superior in design to the Saviour above the portico of St. Martin of Lucca. In the accompanying seasons, the incidents are conceived with spirit, and the nude recalls the antique. It is a work which cannot date earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century, yet far beneath those of Niccola of the very same time. Not only are the conception and execution, compared to his, rude and primitive, but, as in all the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries previously noticed, they are the creation of men of a different spirit and school.

But even in 1250, Guido da Como, who built the pulpit of San Bartolommeo-in-Pantano at Pistoia, shows himself little better as a sculptor than Benedictus, Bonamicus, or Guidectus. Guido's composition is symmetrical, his forms are animated with a gentle religious spirit, but his figures have repose approaching to immobility. They are long and lean, and carved into the flat stone with little more art than those of Groppoli. Yet, feeble as his talent appears, Guido never wanted employment, and took rank as late as 1293 amongst those who laboured in the cathedral of Orvieto.[1]

architrave, the sermon of St. John the Baptist, the same before Herod, the dance before Herodias, and the decapitation.

[1] Vasari does not hesitate to call the works of Guido da Como, "goffe" (VASARI, *u.s.*, i., p. 283). See DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto*, p. 263.

The marble pulpit of San Bartolommeo-in-Pantano is quadrangular, and stands in the chaunting loft, supported on three pillars, the capitals of which are adorned with small figures, whilst the pediments rest on a winged lion, a lioness, and a man, the first gnawing a basilisk, the second accompanied by her cub. The Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi adorn the sides, and in the front are the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, Christ at Emmaus, the Limbus, Christ appearing to the Disciples, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas. Three figures on one pedestal support the desk at one angle of the pulpit, and at the opposite one stands an angel with a book resting on the head of a horned monster, with the eagle above him.

On the border is the following inscription :—

GUIDO DE COMO ME CUNCTIS CARMINE PROMO
ANNO DOMINI 1250.
EST OPERI SANUS SUPERESTANS TURRISIANUS
NAMQUE FIDE PRONA VIGIL . . . DEUS INDE CORONA.

The figures on the angles are better than the rest, and a certain inferiority may

In Florence, the centre of the great art revival, sculpture was as poor as elsewhere.

An ambo, which once stood in San Piero Scheraggio, and was afterwards transferred to the suburban church of San Leonardo, gives an idea of the skill of the Florentines of the twelfth century. A root of Jesse and gospel scenes, including the Nativity, the Epiphany, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Descent from the Cross, form the principal subjects, which are surmounted by a Virgin and Child between the four major prophets. The style of this work is archaic and feeble, like that of the reliefs at Pistoia or Pisa. Sculpture at this level is also exemplified in two fragments of a carved arch from the Badia di Candali, now in the National Museum at Florence, on one of which we observe Christ giving his blessing to an orant friar, and an inscription certifies the date of 1177.[1]

No signs here of the revival which was surely coming in the following century.

Pages have been written to advocate or oppose the contrary theories that Pisan art before 1250 was infantine or decrepit, but it may be sufficient to observe that Pisan sculpture was at that time rude and primitive; that in the earliest works of Pistoia it was homely in conception and childish in execution; that in

be noticed in the execution of the two side reliefs, as well as in the Nativity and the Incredulity of St. Thomas; but the pulpit, as a monument of sculpture, cannot hold a high rank amongst the productions of the thirteenth century.

See also, for comparison, the bas-reliefs with short large-headed figures on the front of the Duomo of Modena, representing Moses and Elias with the following inscription between them: INTER SCULTORES QUANTO SIS DIGNUS CLARET SCULTURA NUNC HONORE WILIGELME TUA; the still ruder sculptures on the Roman gate at Milan, erected after the defeat of Frederick II. at Milan, and inscribed: GERARDUS DE CASTAGNIANEGA FECIT HOC OPUS; the prophets above the portal of the cathedral of Cremona by MAGISTER JACOBUS PORRATA DE CUMIS, 1274. Anselmo da Campione was architect and sculptor in the Duomo of Modena in 1209 (CALVI, *Memorie*, Milan, 1859). See also the rude sculptures on the cathedral of Verona, inscribed: ARTIFICEM GNARUM QUI SCULPSERIT HÆC NICOLAUM. HUNC CONCURRENTES LAUDENT PER SECULA GENTES. The same epigraph with the date 1135 marks the period of similar work on the Duomo of Ferrara. The oldest known sculptor of Siena is Gregorius, whose name and the date 1209, according to Milanesi (*Storia civile ed artistica di Sienn, u.s.*, p. 76), were on sculptures above the portal of S. Giorgio of Siena.

[1] The inscription runs thus: ANNO MCLXXVII INDICTIONE.

Parma and Lucca, though still defective, it had a conventional Christian spirit; and that in the early part of the thirteenth century it maintained that spirit at Pisa without any very sensible progress in the expression of form.

At this very period Niccola appeared in Pisa, and, as early as the year 1260, completed the pulpit of the Pisan baptistery.

This remarkable monument, erected in the form of a hexagon, rests upon nine columns: one, central, poised on the shoulders of a man, a griffin, and animals, quaintly grouped together; three reposing on the backs of lions and a lioness with her cubs; three on simple pediments; and two supporting the steps. A trefoil arch connects each of the six principal pillars; and pilasters starting from the capitals, regulate the ornamented cornice of the pulpit. In front of each of these pilasters stands a statue symbolising one of the Virtues. Fortitude is represented by the juvenile Hercules with a lion's cub on his right shoulder, and his left hand in the mouth of a slain lion; Fidelity by a female holding a dog in her arms; Charity by a woman with an infant. Of other figures, the emblematic meaning is less apparent. For instance, at the angle near the steps, an angel is seated on a lion with a deer in its teeth. In one hand he bears the stump of a sceptre, in the other a small bas-relief of the Crucifixion. Possibly this was intended for the symbol of Faith. In the spandrels of the arches four evangelists and six prophets are ingeniously placed. Seven pillars, clustered in threes, support the parapet of the pulpit, and frame five bas-reliefs representing the Birth of the Saviour, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Presentation in the Temple, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment.

In these bas-reliefs Niccola displays but an elementary knowledge of the maxims of composition. The Adoration of the Magi is indeed symmetrical, but elsewhere equilibrium of mass is absent. In the midst of an obvious imitation of the antique and subservience of pagan models to Christian subject and thought there is still evidence of fancy. Talent is shown in the expression of the ruder forms of passion, and this contrasts with a certain cold and imperfect imitation of classic models, of short and herculean build. Niccola, however, seems resolved to allow no difficulty to repel him. He chisels his figures in the highest possible relief, detaches them completely, and follows without hesitation the old Roman system of sculpture. He polishes the

Alinari, pho.

THE PULPIT OF THE BAPTISTERY, PISA
BY NICCOLA PISANO

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marble with a cold and praiseworthy care. With the drill he cuts out the corners of mouths, the centres of eyes, nostrils, and ears, and stops the perforations with black paste. He gilds the hair and ornaments, and traces of the gold are still visible. None of the compositions more strikingly illustrate the system of classic imitation peculiar to Niccola than that of the Birth of the Saviour. In the middle of the space, the Virgin, recumbent on a couch, would be a fit representation of the queenly Dido, and the figure behind, pointing to her and conversing with an angel, is more like an empress than the humble follower of a carpenter's wife in Bethlehem; Joseph, with an air of wonder, the two classic maids washing the Infant in a basin, the sheep on the foreground, and the episode of the adoration of the shepherds, crowded in the background to the right, are a strange and confused medley of the antique and the old Christian. Of religious feeling not a trace is to be found. In the symmetrical arrangement of the Adoration of the Magi a florid Roman style is characteristic, but the irregular proportion of the figures, as compared with each other, is striking. The heads, especially the more distant ones, are uncommonly large. The angels are Roman victories, and the horses are equally reminiscent of the declining empire. In the Presentation in the Temple the simple groups and figures are mere imitations also; whilst in the Crucifixion the body of the Redeemer reminds us of a suffering Hercules. The Last Judgment, which is the finest of the series, displays Niccola's vigour and energy. The Saviour sits high up, enthroned in a fine attitude; beneath him the elect, the condemned, resurrection, and Lucifer. It would be difficult to find a better imitation of the classic nude in various attitudes than is here to be noticed, especially in females. There are strange figures of the devils and of Satan, the latter with a grotesque head and ears, the body and claws of a vulture united to legs resembling those of an ox. Equally strange is the devil with the body of an infant and a head as large as the torso, revealing the features of one of those hideous masks peculiar to antiquity. The same study of the classic is betrayed in all the single figures, such as those at the angles below the cornice of the pulpit. In that of Fortitude, the movement and attitude and the stunted form recall

the antique—an antique of a coarse and fleshy character, but conventional and motionless.[1]

Niccola thus appears at Pisa in the middle of the thirteenth century, and ignores the religious feeling which marked his predecessors and contemporaries there to revive the imitation of the classic Roman period and remain a mere spectator of the struggle for the new Christian types of the early school of Florence. Grand in comparison with Guido and his predecessors, whose religious sentiment was allied to the rudest and most primitive execution, Niccola gives new life to an apparently extinct art, and makes pagan form subservient to Christian ideas. To nature he owes little, to the Roman antique much, and hence his occasional stiffness and coldness. In general expression, the idea of tenderness is sacrificed to that of masculine force and fleshy muscularity. In form, the sturdy herculean type of the Roman decline, somewhat conventionally generalised, is that which he prefers. Even his fancy and occasional vehemence in the delineation of suffering and pain are imitated from the antique more than from nature, and the heads of devils or of Lucifer are but the grotesque masks of antiquity. In composition, the equilibrium of the masses is seldom considered. In execution, the figures are detached and modelled like those of ancient Rome, the marble highly polished and worked with great technical skill.

We look with admiration at this wonderful production of the thirteenth century, and ask whence the artist came.[2] Niccola, who is called Pisanus in an early inscription, is not supposed to have been born at Pisa; Vasari, indeed, carefully abstains from any mention of his birth. The oldest record in which his name

[1] On the marble beneath the Last Judgment we read:—

ANNO MILLENO BIS CENTVM BIS QVE TRICENO
HOC OPVS INSIGNE SCVLPSIT NICOLA PISANVS
LAVDETVR DIGNE TAM BENE DOCTA MANUS.

(See VASARI, i., 167; MORRONA, *Pisa Ill.*, i., 396.)

"This pulpit suffered a few years ago a serious and memorable damage, the heads of many figures having been broken off by Lorenzino dei Medici . . . to embellish and adorn his study."—RONCIONI, *Istorie Pisane*, a work of the Sixteenth Century, published by Francesco Bonaini in *Archiv. Storico* (Florence, 1844), vi., p. 284.

[2] Vasari having said in the life of Niccola that that sculptor studied at Pisa, affirms in that of Giovanni that he studied in Rome (i., p. 277).

THE ANNUNCIATION AND THE NATIVITY
By Niccola Pisano
From a relief on the pulpit of the Baptistery, Pisa

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occurs is a contract of 1265, in which he agrees to furnish a pulpit with all its carved work to the cathedral of Siena. The notary describes him minutely as "Magister Niccolus lapidum de paroccia ecclesie Sancti Blasii de Ponte de Pisis quondam Petri," from which we gather that having lost his father he lived in the parish of San Biagio at Pisa. In a second record, of later date, "Magister Nichola Pietri de Apulia" is required to summon Arnolfo, then his assistant, to work at the pulpit of Siena. We thus ascertain that the birthplace of this sculptor, and probably that of his father, is Apulia. A third document, dated in August, 1267, shows that Niccola lived at Pisa whilst he was still engaged on the pulpit of Siena, and it is from there that he gives receipts for wages, signing himself "Magister Niccholus olim Petri, lapidum de Pissis populi Sancti Blasii," which is the customary form in later records of 1272 and 1273 at Pistoia.[1]

[1] RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, ii., p. 145) was the first to publish the earliest of these documents, which are reprinted in MILANESI'S *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* (8vo, Siena, 1854), i., pp. 145 and fol. The date October 3, 1266, "secundum cursum Pisanorum," is really 1265 of our reckoning. Those of 1272-3 were first given by CIAMPI in his *Notizie*, but inaccurately transcribed, so that the name was transformed from "Magistro Nichole quondam Petri de cappella Santi Blasii pisa . . ." into "Magistro Nichole quond. Petri de Senis Ser Blasii pisa . . ." This attempt to establish by a false reading that Nicholas was a Pisan, son of a Sienese and grandson of a Pisan, was detected by Milanesi, who found that the documents at Pistoia gave the same results as those of Siena. Milanesi is, however, of opinion that the words "de Apulia" refer to a suburb of Lucca, and not to the province of Apulia, and that therefore Nicholas is a Tuscan (see VASARI, Sansoni's ed., i., p. 324). This opinion is one which Milanesi will get few persons to accept.

* This melancholy controversy illustrates well in all its phases the extreme parochial patriotism of Italian archæologists and art-historians. It may be compared with the preposterous attempt, made by Ugurgieri and other erudite Sienese of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to prove that Sodoma was born at Vergelle, a little castle near Siena, and was in reality a Sienese and not a Vercellese. First of all Ciampi, by a false reading of an ancient document, seeks to show that Niccola was a Pisan, and grandson of a Pisan. This attempt having failed, and it having been demonstrated that Niccola was a native of Apulia, loyal Tuscans searched their native country to find a place with a name resembling that of the southern province. Two little villages were discovered bearing the name of Pulia, one near Lucca and one near Arezzo. The patriotic antiquarians of Siena and Florence were happy again. They had found, they said, the birthplace of Niccola Pisano. They assured themselves that the revival of sculpture which began in Tuscany owed little or nothing to foreign influences. They had, however, forgotten the claims of Pisa. The Pisan archæologists did not wish to give up their Niccola to some insignificant village, even though it was a

According to Vasari, Niccola studied first under certain Greeks whom he found carving figures and ornaments in the cathedral and baptistery of Pisa. But in the midst of his other avocations he also carefully examined a number of ancient monuments which the Pisans had brought home from the wars, and amongst them a sarcophagus inclosing the remains of the Countess Matilda, set up in a place of honour in the square facing the cathedral. Niccola admired the chase of Meleager, which was carved on this monument, and extended his admiration to similar works which he skilfully copied. His cleverness in this style of imitation was soon acknowledged by the Pisans who, in a comparatively short time, hailed him as the best sculptor of his age.

No doubt the pulpit of Pisa bears out Vasari's opinion that Niccola studied and imitated the antique. But previous to the execution of that work he must have produced something similar in Pisa or elsewhere, and we might also require some evidence of his earlier devotion to the manner of the Pisan Greeks. Testimony

Tuscan village. Signor Tanfani-Centofanti, the learned archivist of Pisa, protested, as a loyal citizen, against Milanesi's theory. The Pisans, he said, did not wish "to yield to another Tuscan town an honour which up to then had been all their own."

The argument that the words "de Apulia" signify that Niccola was a native of an obscure village called Pulia, near Lucca, or of another hamlet of the same name, near Arezzo, has nothing to recommend it, and obviously owes its origin to Tuscan patriotism. Nor does the fact that Niccola was called Pisanus prove that he was a native of Pisa. In many an early document an artist is spoken of as though he were a native of a certain town, when, in fact, he had only resided a long time there. It is, of course, just possible that Niccola himself was styled "de Apulia," not because he was born there, but because he had resided in Apulia for some time in his early years. But that question is of little importance to art historians; the main fact is that whilst still young he was brought under the direct influence of the masters of the southern classical revival. For this fact both documents and *stilkritik* afford sufficient evidence. This question has been discussed by Milanesi in his edition of Vasari (vol. i., p. 321–329); by Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di Artisti tratte dai Documenti Pisani* (Pisa, 1898, pp. 389–393), as well as in his pamphlet, *Della Patria di Niccola Pisano; estratto dal Giornale "Lettere e Arti," No. 12* (Bologna, 1890); by Schubring in his *Pisa* (Leipzig, Seeman, pp. 42–46); and, briefly, by Professor Venturi in his article, *Il genio di Nicola Pisano* in the first number of the *Rivista d'Italia* (Jan. 15th, 1898). Professor Venturi supports the views of Crowe and Cavalcaselle as to the southern origin of Niccola. But he regards some of the heads on the exterior of the baptistery as early works of Niccola. To us some of these busts seem to be closely related to those of Capua. Not even the best of them, however, have quite the quality of Niccola's authentic works. We think that these are by some other Apulian artist, an associate, perhaps, of Niccola.

of this kind is absolutely wanting. The sculptors of the cathedral and baptistery of Pisa were taught in other schools than that in which Niccola was bred. Their work is not like his. It is unlike theirs. Vasari's account of the antiques of Pisa is a legend. The raptures into which he falls before the chase of Meleager are affected. Countess Matilda was not buried in a cippus upon which the chase of Meleager was represented. The subject cut upon her tomb is Atalanta preparing for the race, or Hippolytus and Phædra. A chase of Meleager, in the Campo Santo, is a feeble work of late Roman execution.

If, on a superficial examination, Vasari's narrative hangs but loosely together, it collapses entirely when subject to analysis. If we should venture to compare great things with small, we might place on a parallel the careers of Niccola Pisano and Michaelangelo Buonarroti. Michaelangelo was the greatest artist of the Italian revival, and we trace his career from its beginning to its close at Florence; but judging him by his works, we conclude that he would never have been famous but for the previous existence of Donatello and Ghirlandajo. At Pisa no precursor to Niccola has been found, and, unless we look abroad, we cannot explain his career and the expansion of his style. Niccola appears at Pisa in 1260 as an artist of mature power. Are we to suppose that a man whose earliest creation in Central Italy is a masterpiece rose quite suddenly to eminence without leaving a trace of his rise behind him? We must refuse to believe that by simply imitating carvings found casually on ancient tombs he ascended to the position of "the best sculptor of his age." We might think, on the contrary, that Niccola was taught in a country where antique examples were more abundant than at Pisa—that he was not a Pisan by birth, though he became a Pisan by adoption. We may believe that he was called to Pisa from a distance because he had a name and repute amongst the seafarers of the republic, and that, having come at their bidding, he displayed from the outset an art which naturally struck them as being superior to that with which they were acquainted at home. Then, no doubt, but not till then, Niccola was acknowledged as "the best sculptor of his age."

Pisa, in the thirteenth century, commanded the trade of the

west coast of Italy. She was alternately at peace or at war with the Sicilians and Apulians, protecting or monopolising the traffic of the south, and particularly of the ports of the south, amongst which Salerno and Amalfi were conspicuous. Her population thus came to be recruited from distant places, and from thence we may suppose there migrated, about the middle of the thirteenth century, Niccola the son, and perhaps Peter the father, with whom we make acquaintance at Pisa as Apulians. That about this time there should have been a current of emigration from the south to the north will not appear strange to those who remember that Frederick II. had just died, and Southern Italy was about to witness the struggles of the house of Anjou with the last descendants of the Hohenstaufen.

Niccola, it is clear, resided permanently at Pisa from 1260 upwards. We now inquire where he had his domicile previous to that date; and as to this it must be confessed that, beyond the fact that records speak of the master as an Apulian, circumstantial evidence alone remains to guide us.

Pisa and its neighbourhood revealed, as we have seen, no signs of his presence, and none of his sculptures are to be found either there or in any other part of Tuscany. Unfortunately the same void is apparent in Apulia and the south generally. But we also saw that in Tuscany and the north the sculpture of the region was different in spirit and in style from that of Niccola. In the south, on the contrary, and particularly in Apulia, sculptors practised their art after the same methods as Niccola, and with the same tendency to imitation of the antique; and though we cannot find work assignable to Niccola himself, many examples can be pointed out which remind us of his style and suggest a similar origin.

Vasari, curiously enough, has prefaced the life of Niccola with some general observations, in which he speaks of edifices built by a mythical architect, whom he calls Fuccio of Florence, in the cities of Southern Italy, and he specifies more particularly the castles of Naples, the gates of Capua on the Volturnus, and the deer park at Amalfi. It is interesting to observe that he thus gives prominence to the very spots in which Niccola Pisano might have acquired the rudiments of his art. Salerno, Amalfi,

and Capua are now admitted to be well furnished with specimens of sculpture which closely resemble the sculpture of Niccola Pisano.

At Salerno, which is remarkable for the antiquity of its buildings and classic remains, the first thing that strikes even a casual observer is the abundance of old sepulchral monuments, which, in variety and quality, are not surpassed by similar ones in Pisa. The difference between the two cities in this respect is that the monuments of Salerno are apparently the produce of the place, as we may judge from the numerous pieces, including a chase of Meleager, in the cloisters of the episcopal palace; whereas those of Pisa are mere spoil from the wars of the Middle Ages.

Sculpture at Salerno, too, is formed after the antique, of which we have illustrations in Jeremiah and other prophets; and clusters of angels and symbols of the Evangelists on the pulpits of the cathedral recall Niccola both in spirit and execution.

Close to Salerno, the city of Amalfi, with its satellites Ravello and Scala, furnish examples of even greater importance, which again are surpassed by those of more recent discovery, now preserved in the museum of Capua.

Of Amalfi and the gates of its cathedral we have already had something to say in reference to the efforts of the Benedictines to extend the cultivations of the arts.[1] We saw that the gates of the churches of Montecassino, Ostia, and even San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome, were executed about the same time, and we learn that they were designed at the bidding of an Amalfitan consul who patronised Amalfitans in practice at Constantinople about the year 1070.[2]

A century later these examples of South Italian carving were thrown into the shade by work of greater power, of which we have specimens at Ravello and other places.

Nothing can be more interesting than the gates which close the portal of the hill church of Ravello. We hardly require the inscription which is carved on them to prove that they were executed in 1179. In form they are similar to those executed by

[1] *Antea*, pp. 59, 60.

[2] Consult CARAVITA, *u.s.*, i., p. 193-4.

Barisanus of Trani[1] for the cathedral of his native place, or the northern portal of the Sicilian church of Monreale. At Ravello the folding doors are framed in an edging of Saracenic pattern, encircling ten courses of six panellings, carved with gospel and other subjects. At Monreale the number of courses is only seven, the panellings four. Scenes of the Passion, including the Deposition from the Cross and the Limbus, alternate at Ravello with figures of saints and prophets. At Monreale, with the same arrangement, the gospel scenes are more numerous, comprising Christ between Moses and Elias, the Descent from the Cross, the Limbus, the Virgin and Child, St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Eustace, and other saints. The date of the Trani bronzes is 1175.

The distinctive features in all these productions are an apparent clinging to classic models, an excellent distribution of space, something stunted in the forms, but no lack of action or expression. The master who cast the plates is a contemporary of Bonanno, but superior to him in so far as he works with a distinct leaning towards the antique.

The gates of Ravello, however, only warrant the interest shown for them in this narrative, because they indicate the existence at a very early time of the current which ran strongly in Southern Italy during the reign of the last of the Hohenstaufen emperors.

Frederick II. spent his life in trying to establish the Roman Empire in Italy in opposition to the Papacy. His effort involved the restoration of much that was obsolete of this old world of the Cæsars, and perhaps we may count amongst these obsolete things the classic art which he endeavoured to restore.[2] But the

*[1] Signor Palmarini traces the influence of Byzantine art upon Barisanus, and shows that Diehl exaggerated the influence of French art upon the sculptor. See PALMARINI, *Barisano da Trani*, in *L'Arte*, 1898, fasc i., ii., pp. 15–26.

*[2] Frederick II., the pupil of Michael Scot, was one of the leaders of a genuine proto-Renaissance. "Just as in our cold English February there come sometimes a few golden days bright with presages of the spring, so in the winter-time of the Middle Ages there was a brief period of sunshine, when a few flowers sprang up here and there from the old, seemingly dead roots of antique culture."

The proto-Renaissance had seven chief centres—Byzantium, Toledo, Provence, the Île-de-France, Tuscany, the Kingdom of Sicily, and Rome. "It was in Byzantium that it first showed itself. There an art revival, which commenced in the ninth century under Basil the Macedonian, was followed in the eleventh by another

effort, however vain it may appear to us now, was earnestly made, and we owe to it the pseudo-antique of the Southern Italians and the transient revival of classic sculpture embodied in the works of Niccola Pisano and his precursors. We have seen that evidence of this revival was to be found in the pulpit of Pisa. The same phenomenon will presently be noticed at Ravello, but it only became visible there after its apparition at Capua.

It would be difficult to find a more characteristic manifestation

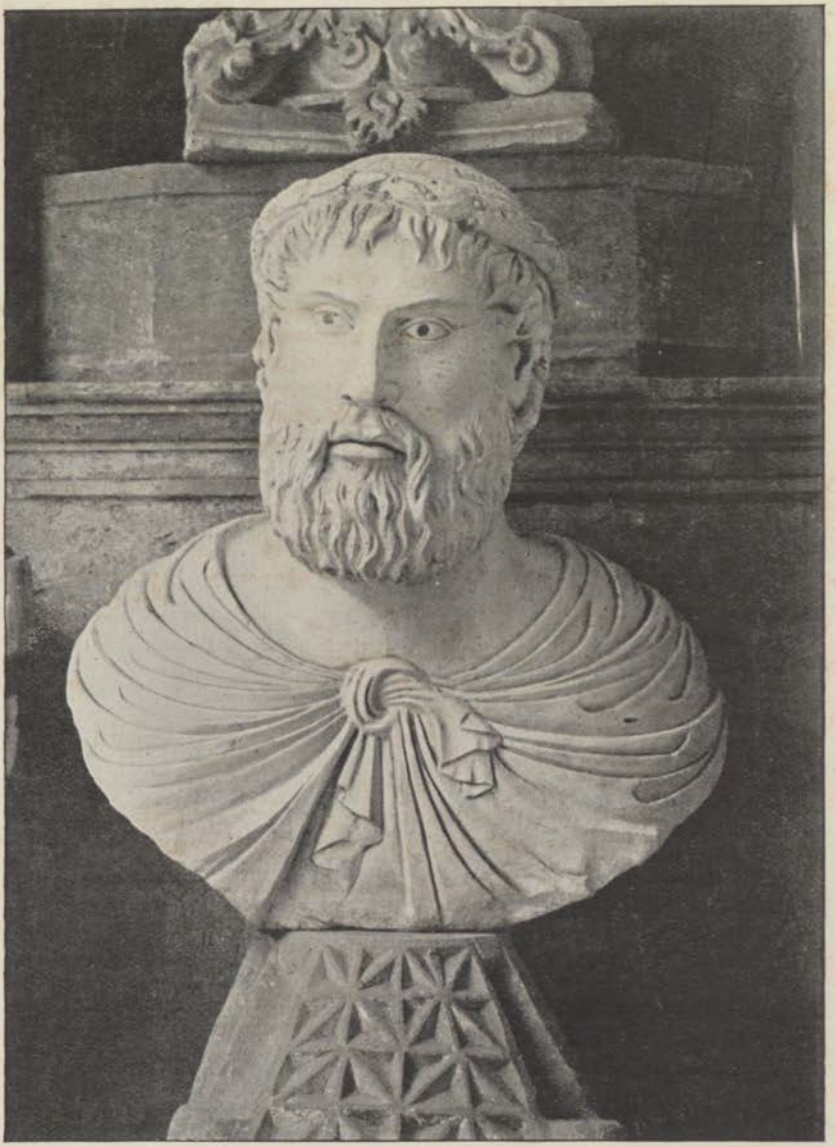
movement of advance, which manifested itself especially in ivory-carvings, in bronze reliefs, and in miniatures. In some of these works we find evidences of a sincere desire to render natural form, as well as a more artistic treatment of drapery. In representing a draped figure the artist is no longer content to represent the folds of the robe by a mere web of decorative lines. He seeks to make us feel the material significance of the form he portrays."

In Spain the movement showed itself in literature and scholarship. Under the enlightened patronage of Don Raymon, Archbishop of Toledo, scholars like Dominicus Gundisalvus, Johannes Avendeath, and Michael Scot translated into Latin the scientific works of Aristotle and the writings of Aristotle's great expositor, Avicenna. In Provence the movement manifested itself in the poetry of the troubadours, and in such architectural works as the portal of St. Gilles. Here as elsewhere the return to nature was preceded by a classical revival. In the Île-de-France it found expression in the writings of Abelard, in the works of nameless sculptors, in ivory-carvings, and in miniature-painting; in Rome in the mosaics of the Cosmati. In Tuscany the movement produced early fruit in architecture, in the works of the Pisan school and their followers, but it only tardily affected the other arts. The movement reached its climax in Sicily and Apulia in the reign of Frederick II. "There, for one brief period, the new life manifested itself in many departments of human effort. It brought forth fruit of all kinds, in architecture, in sculpture, in mosaic, in literature. Its chief source of inspiration was the art of ancient Rome, but to it flowed, too, streams of vitality from other centres of the new life. Artists from Byzantium made coins for Frederick, and decorated his walls with mosaic. French architects built his castles. Michael Scot, his tutor, brought to Palermo from Toledo the lore of Aristotle. Provençal poets sang their new measures in the shade of the ilex groves of Sicily." (DOUGLAS, *A History of Siena.* Murray, 1902, pp. 298–300.)

Of the works of French architects in Apulia in the reign of Frederick II., M. Bertaux has given a full and scholarly account in his *Castel del Monte et les architectes français de l'empereur Frédéric II.*, published in the *Comptes rendus des séances del' Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.* Paris, 1897.

In *L'Arte* (1898, fasc. iii.–v.) E. Rocchi has commented upon the monograph of M. Bertaux. In a paper that M. Bertaux read before the International Historical Congress, held in Paris in July, 1900, he confirmed the authors' conclusions as to the Pugliese origin of Niccola Pisano's art. The paper was entitled *Magister Nicholas Petri de Apulia.*

of this new tendency than is afforded to us in the chief city of the Terra di Lavoro. Frederick II. had resolved to make of Capua a stronghold, and the seat of a supreme court of law. Immediately after his coronation at Rome in 1220 he met the barons of Apulia in the old capital of the province, and ordered the erection of a citadel or bridge-head on the Volturnus, which not only became celebrated in later days as a defence, but famous as a work of art. Years were spent in building the fortress, which was planned by the proto-magister Liphantes, and described by one who witnessed its reduction by arms in 1266 as admirable and remarkable, as well for the strength of its round towers as for the decoration of its entrance. Above the gateway there was seated a crowned effigy of the Emperor on his throne, expressing by mien and gesture the idea of powerful rule. According to the accounts of successive annalists, the entrance was a marble arch, which had been completed some years before the death of the Emperor, whose statue, in robes of state, represented a man of forty, in the mantle of an old Roman Cæsar and the modern wide-sleeved under garment of the knights of the thirteenth century. The gesture, the drapery, were Roman. Above this commanding figure of more than life-size there were ranges of old works of statuary dug out of the ruins of the neighbouring Capuan circus, and an inscription conveying threats of punishment to traitors. Beneath and at each side of the Emperor colossal busts of the two Capuan judges, Pietro delle Vigne and Roffredo of Beneventum, were placed, accompanied by mottoes announcing safety to the honest and captivity to the treacherous. Lower down, and still above the arching of the gate, was a statue nearly three times the life-size of a woman, with crisp hair bound by a coronet of vine leaves, opening her breast to show the Imperial Eagle. It was an allegorical representation of Imperial Capua, and bore the motto: "By order of the Kaiser, I keep watch over the Empire." Carved on the marble of the archway were trophies and reliefs representing the victories of Frederick. It was the Duke of Alva who ordered the enlargement of the Capuan citadel, and caused its sculptures to be thrown down. After this, Frederick the Emperor's effigy lay for years in the mire, where his nose, hands, and feet were struck off and lost.



A BUST, NOW IN THE CAPUA MUSEUM, FROM THE FORTRESS BUILT BY FREDERICK II. AT CAPUA

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Imperial Capua and the judges disappeared, together with the antiques of the Capuan circus and the reliefs of the archings. But parts of all the statues were recovered in 1870–1, and the torso of Frederick, the head, without the body, of Imperial Capua, and the busts of Pietro delle Vigne and Roffredo of Beneventum are now in the museum of Capua.[1] There can be no doubt that in these remains we possess characteristic productions of the period of classic revival to which we have been pointing. The figure of the Emperor appears, from what remains of it, to have been an imitation as regards gesture and dress of a Roman Cæsar. The statue of Capua is also an enlargement of an antique goddess, with sharply-cut features, put together after the fashion of the Greeks, but marking about the same relapse from the Greek as would be a mechanical revival of the sculpture of Egina by feebler craftsmen of the Roman Empire. What the artist has well attained is a certain measure of severe gravity expressed in the orb of the large eye, the curve of the brows, and the breadth of the cheek. The judges are very fair imitations of bearded philosophers of antiquity, with mantles round the shoulders loosely knotted at the throat, the hair in short Roman curls under laurel wreaths, the eye scooped out, as we shall presently see it in later work of the same class. Nothing can be more natural than that carved works of this kind should have been the models on which Niccola Pisano was formed—models which were taken almost without modification, so far as method and appearance are concerned, from the remains, then easy of access

[1] For the details consult *Descriptio victoriæ per Carolum regem*, ap. GRÆVII, *Thesaurus*, v., p. 21; GRIMM. (H.), *Kunst and Künstler* (8vo, Berlin, 1865), i., p. 62; Rich. of San Germano in MURATORI, *Rerum Ital.*, vii., p. 1032; CAMPANO, *De rebus gestis Andreæ Bracchii* (da Montone), lib. v.; LUCCA DI PENNA, *Comm. ad Cod. Justinian*, lib. xi., tit. xi., lex. 4; DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sanesi*, i., p. 200; SCIPIONE SONELLI, MS., Capua; ap. C. VON FABRICZY, in *Zeitsch. für bild. Kunst*, xiv., ann. 1879, p. 185. The statue of Frederick was set up on a pedestal near the bridge gate of Capua by order of the Senate in 1584. But it was thrown down again in the wars of the eighteenth century, and since then the head has disappeared. The busts of the two judges and the head of the Capua were found almost buried under rubbish in niches above the inner side of the arched gate abutting on the Volturnus bridge; and in similar concealment there were found also a hand of Jupiter and eight other antique pieces, evidently spoil from the Capuan circus. See D. SALAZARO'S, *Studi sui Monumenti*, Pt. I. (Nap., 1871), note to p. 63, and FABRICZY, *u.s.*, note to p. 216.

in that wonderful circus, which still remains to this day one of the greatest marvels of antique architectural carving.

Curious and interesting to the same extent as the remains at Capua are the carvings of the pulpit in the cathedral of San Pantaleone at Ravello, of which we have already examined the gates. The pulpit rests on pillars reposing on the back of rampant lions.[1]

The steps which lead up to the desk support a marble balustrade inlaid with mosaics; and above the arch leading into the pulpit is a Latin inscription recording Nicolo Rufolo and his commission to Niccola di Bartolommeo of Foggia to execute it in 1272. Above the arch of the doorway is a fine bust of a female, by some supposed to represent a queen, by others Sigilgaita Rufolo,[2] of life size, in a diadem from which there hangs a long rich tassel. Her hair, divided and gracefully twined along the ears, exposes a fine forehead and a face of oval shape. The brow and scooped eyes are noble, the nose regular, and the features elegantly chiselled and broadly carved. The neck is massive. Niccola di Bartolommeo of Foggia evidently studied the antique like his contemporary Niccola at Pisa. The two styles are essentially similar. The marble has the same high polish and technical workmanship. The use of the drill is common to both; on the capitals of the door are other portraits, one a male profile, less happily rendered, but still by the same hand. Had not the name of Nicholas been united to that of Bartolommeo of Foggia, proving the existence of two contemporary sculptors of the same name but of different families, the busts of Ravello and the pulpit

[1] Though this pulpit has been reshaped, probably because parts of it have been allowed to decay, there is no reason to suppose that anything was added to it which did not form a part of its original structure. The long inscription which records the commission of the work by Rufulus, the husband of Sigilgaita, ends with the lines:—

EGO MAGISTER NICO-
LAUS, DE BARTHOLOME-
O DE FOGIA MARMORAR-
IUS HOC OPUS FECI.

These lines are preceded by the date:—

LAPSIS MILLENIS BIS CENTUM BISQ. TRECENIS XVI. BISSENIS ANNIS AB ORIGINE PLENIS.

*[2] It has been shown that this bust does not represent Sigilgaita. Professor Venturi holds that it represents "Mater Ecclesia." See an article by Filangieri di Candida, in *Napoli Nobilissima*, February, 1903.

"MATER ECCLESIA"
BY NICCOLA DI BARTOLOMMEO
From a bust from the pulpit of S. Pantaleone, Ravello

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of Pisa might have been assigned to one person. Foggia was in the thirteenth century the ordinary residence of the Emperor Frederick II. Della Valle devotes a page of one of his Sienese letters to a description of this palace, which was erected in 1223, and on the solitary arch of which there now remains an inscription, which comprises the date and the name of the builder, Bartholomeus, who erected it.[1]

Bartholomeus, the architect of Foggia, may possibly be related to Nicholas the sculptor of the pulpit of Ravello. But the busts of San Pantaleone are not solitary specimens of the art of Ravello and Amalfi in the age of Niccola. At Scala, near Amalfi, there stood in a niche above the gate of a house, till it was removed to the Berlin Museum, a bust of a woman wearing a diadem, somewhat injured about the nose and lips, but dressed in jewelled attire of the same style as that of the bust of Ravello, and carved with the help of similar perforations and scoopings of the eyes. The person represented is said to be the same as that portrayed in the pulpit of San Pantaleone; but if this should be doubtful, there can be no question that we have here also an art akin to that of Niccola at Pisa. And we thus ascertain that as early as the thirteenth century sculptors found employment at Capua, Foggia, Ravello, and Amalfi, whose skill was superior to that of the Pisans, whilst one of them, called Niccola di Bartolommeo, is so nearly related to Niccola of Pisa in style that the works of both may be confounded.[2] However venturesome it may once have

[1] ANNO AB INCARNATIONE, 1223 M. JUNII. XI. IND. REG. DÑO Ñ FREDERICO IMPERATORI REX SĒP. AUG. A III. ET REGIS SICILIÆ XXVI. HOC OPUS FELICITER INCEPTUM P̄PHATO DÑO PERFICIENTE.

SIC CESAR FIERI JUSSIT OPUS P̄TO (?PRECEPTO) BARTOLOMEUS SIC CONSTRUXIT ILLUD.

(DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sanesi*, i., p. 205 and fol.)

It is amusing to find DELLA VALLE (ii., p. 20) change the word "p̄to" into "Pis." in order to prove that Bartolommeo of Foggia is the same as Bartolommeus Pisanus, a bell-founder at Pisa in the thirteenth century. This theme Morrona (*Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 97) extensively developes.

[2] If it should be argued that Niccola of Foggia was a pupil of Niccola of Pisa, it would be natural to expect that history should record his presence elsewhere than in the south of Italy, where his work is also preserved, and his style would have made a nearer approach to the later one of Giovanni than to that of Giovanni's father.

seemed to acknowledge the existence of a South Italian school which acquired new life under the encouragement afforded to it by Frederick II.; however difficult it may have been at first to establish the fact that such a school was formed, because it was not possible to point out a sufficient number of examples to prove its effectual development, time and research have now brought to light materials enough for a reasonable confirmation of a not unreasonable theory; and those who might have thought the sculptures of Ravello alone insufficient to afford material for a sound judgment, will perhaps be ready to accept as convincing the sculptures of Capua, which may perhaps some day become all the more precious if the reliefs of the castle of Capua should be recovered.

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the earliest works which Vasari attributes to Niccola Pisano is the tomb of St. Dominic in San Domenico of Bologna, erected, he says, in the year 1231,[1] but only completed in 1266–7 by Fra Guglielmo. No records have ever confirmed the biographer's assertions respecting the building or remodelling, in the earlier part of the century, of edifices in divers parts of Italy by Niccola Pisano,[2] whilst in many instances these assertions have been positively contradicted. The oldest records of the Duomo of Siena (1229)[3] make no mention of Niccola Pisano as being present at the foundation of that edifice. The fame of Niccola would have been great long before

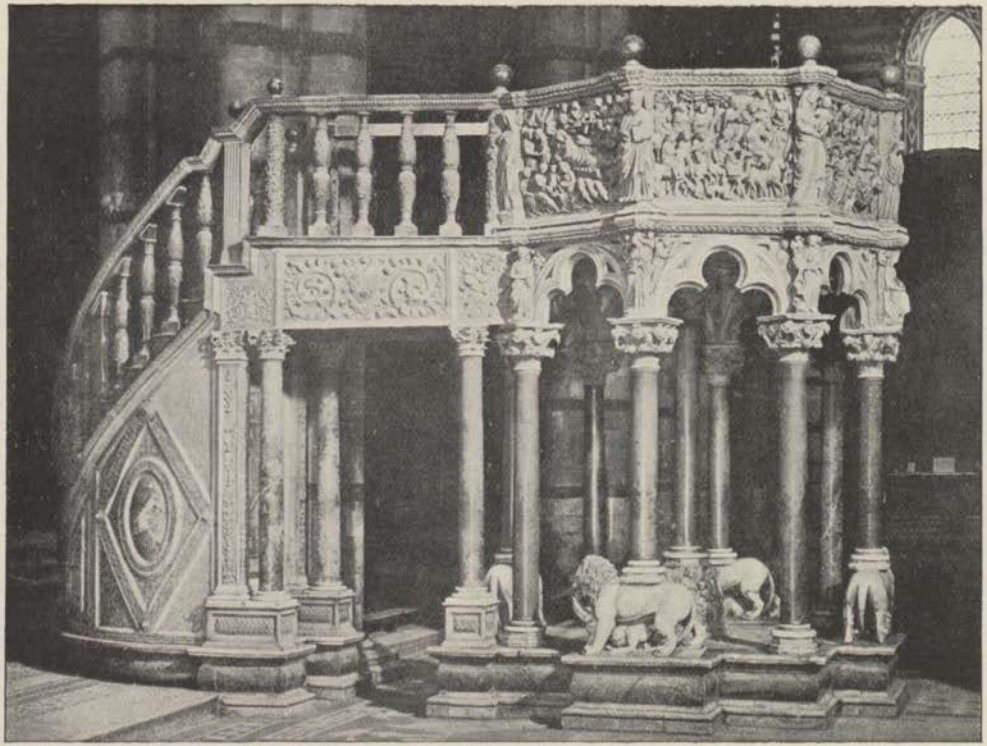
* [1] VASARI, *Le vite*, etc. Florence, Sansoni, vol. i., p. 296. P. Berthier, the learned historian of the Convent of S. Domenico at Bologna, has found no confirmation of this statement.

[2] ERNST FÖRSTER in his *Beiträge* affirmed that he saw a record at Pistoia proving that Niccola worked in the Duomo in 1242. The record itself he does not give. Was he quite sure of the date? See *Beiträge, u.s.*, p. 61.

* No such document is known to Signor Tanfani-Centofanti, the learned archivist of Pisa, who has made most diligent search for documents relating to Niccola Pisano, to support his theory of the Pisan origin of the great master.

[3] RUMOHR quotes original records of payments for work in the Duomo of Siena as early as 1229 (*Forschungen, u.s.*, ii., p. 124). GAETANO MILANESI going back still further (*Sulla Storia civile ed artistica Senese*, 8vo, Siena, 1862, p. 59), notices Bellamino, who in 1198 restored the Fontebranda, which was repaired anew in 1248 by Giovanni Stefani, then *capo-maestro* of the Duomo.

* The earliest existing records of the Duomo of Siena are of the year 1227. These early references to the Duomo of Siena are about to be published for the first time by one of the editors of these volumes.



THE PULPIT, SIENA CATHEDRAL
BY NICCOLA PISANO

Alinari, pho.

I.—*To face page* 120

the year 1260, had he, as a Pisan, carried out the numerous works which are assigned to him previous to that date. The only concession that can be made in respect of the period of his first settlement at Pisa is that he resided there sufficiently early to compose and to execute the pulpit which, we saw, bears the date of 1260, that he resided there when Giovanni was born, since Giovanni has described himself in a pulpit at Pistoia as a native of Pisa. We shall presently see that Niccola, in the contract of 1265 for the pulpit of Siena, makes it a condition that he shall be allowed to employ his son Giovanni at one-third of the ordinary wages. We must therefore suppose that the age of this son, who might have then been an apprentice, was about ten to fifteen, and this would bring Niccola's settlement at Pisa to the period of 1250–5, the period when Frederick II. died, and the feuds of the princes of Anjou and the Hohenstaufen began. It was on the fifth of October that Niccola signed the contract for the erection of the pulpit in the cathedral of Siena.[1] The conditions to which he subscribed were the following:—

Firstly: That he should, between October and the November next following, deliver at Siena eleven columns of white marble, with the necessary capitals, and sixteen smaller pillars and slabs for the erection of a pulpit in Santa Maria. He was also to furnish the lions or pediments. Secondly: From and after the next month of March he was to reside at Siena, and to accept no other commission until the pulpit was finished; but he was, if he desired it, to have, four times a year, a fortnight's leave to visit Pisa, either for the purpose of giving counsel in the matter of the completion of the Duomo and Baptistery there, or for his own business. Thirdly: In the same month of March he was to bring with him to Siena his pupils Arnolfo and Lapo, who were, likewise, bound to remain at Siena till the pulpit was completed. Fourthly: The price of the marble columns and slabs was fixed at sixty-five Pisan pounds, the daily pay of Niccola at eight—that of his pupils six Pisan "solidos," besides bed and lodging. Fifthly: If Johannes, the son of Niccola, declared himself ready and willing to work under his father, he should receive one-third the salary of the latter. Sixthly: None of the sculptors were to be subject to any real or personal service in the

*[1] MILANESI, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*, vol. i., Siena, 1854, p. 145.

republic of Siena. Seventhly: Breach of contract on either side was forbidden, under a penalty of 100 pounds Pisan.[1]

About November, 1268, the pulpit was completed by the joint labours of Niccola, Giovanni, Arnolfo, Lapo, Donato, and Goro.

Of octagonal form, it rests upon nine columns, four of which are supported on lions and lionesses, four on simple pediments, and the central one upon a group of nine figures in half relief. Seven bas-reliefs cover the faces of the pulpit. Firstly, the Nativity; secondly, the Adoration of the Magi; thirdly, the Presentation in the Temple; fourthly, the Flight into Egypt; fifthly, the Massacre of the Innocents; sixthly, the Crucifixion; seventhly, the Last Judgment.

It is not necessary now to go into a searching criticism of the subjects, which are throughout remarkable for the classicism which characterises the style of Niccola.

In the Massacre of the Innocents we observe great variety of action, and appropriate movement, combined with expression in faces. In the vehement gesture of soldiers, tearing babes from the grasp of their mothers, or in the act of killing them, a certain tendency to exaggeration may be observed. Yet it is obvious that Niccola's treatment of these groups was of service to later artists, and even to Giotto.

The Saviour in the Crucifixion is less in the spirit of the Roman antique than the Christ of the pulpit of Pisa, but, if more realistic, he is also worse proportioned.

The same faults mark the Saviour distributing blessings and curses and the Saviour crucified, in which conventional classic form is united to realistic anatomy without much repose or dignity. Double groups of superposed figures adorn the angles of the pulpit, and represent scriptural subjects, allegories of the Virtues, and angels. In the spandrels of the trefoil arches are fourteen prophets. But the most interesting and admirable productions in the whole pulpit are those which adorn the base of the central octagonal pillar. Here Astronomy is symbolised by a female holding a book and looking through a level; Grammar by one teaching an infant; Dialectics by an old female in contemplation; Rhetoric by a woman wearing a diadem and holding a book; Philosophy by one with a cornucopia, from which flames issue; Arithmetic by a female writing on a slate, and so with geometry and music. If the

*[1] MILANESI, *Documenti, de*, etc., pp. 145, 146.

THE VISITATION AND THE NATIVITY
By Niccola Pisano
From a relief on the pulpit of Siena Cathedral

Alinari, pho.

I.—*To face page* 122

allegory be imperfectly conceived, it is probably not the fault of the artist. Each figure as a work of art is in admirable movement.

A certain inequality which may be traced in the various parts of this noble monument is perhaps assignable to diversity of talent in the pupils employed by Niccola. But the compositions, which are doubtless his, might have been presented in better form and distribution. The study of the antique, which is sufficiently displayed everywhere, was varied by an evident reference to nature,[1] and precisely where this occurred the master's ability is least visible, and he produces defects of proportion, and even of fleshy and muscular form. The fanciful spirit, which characterises

*[1] The authors do not quite grasp the significance of this manifestation or understand its origin. In the six years that had intervened since the completion of the pulpit of Pisa, an important event had happened, one of the greatest events in the whole history of the sculptor's art. The pioneers of modern Italian sculpture had set out upon a new road. In the reliefs of the Siena pulpit we can trace the influence of the great nameless sculptors of mediæval France—the masters who made beautiful the portals of Chartres and Amiens, of Rheims and Strasbourg. In some way or other, we know not how, these great masters had begun to influence Niccola Pisano. Traces of French influences are most clearly seen in the isolated figures at the angles of the pulpit. The Madonna and Child might have been carved at Chartres or at Rheims. The figure of Virtue is scarcely less French in feeling and execution. The Siena pulpit marks the commencement of a fresh epoch in the history of the plastic art. Italian sculpture now seeks to express more violent, more poignant emotions, emotions which some of us think are unsuitable for expression in such a medium. To attain its new ends, it sacrifices the generality, the repose of the old sculpture, which Niccola Pisano had first chosen for imitation. The Last Judgment of the Siena pulpit paves the way for Giovanni Pisano's Massacre of the Innocents. But a few years after Niccola moulded this relief of the Last Judgment, Tuscan sculpture was already well advanced upon the road which led to the splendid failures of the Medici chapel. Even at Siena it was already beginning to sacrifice its purely decorative qualities, in order to express a wider range of feeling. The compositions of the reliefs are more crowded than those at Pisa. In the individual figures, direct Roman influence is still manifest everywhere, but they are somewhat less dignified in their attitudes, somewhat less restrained in their gestures, than those of the Pisan reliefs. The whole design of the pulpit of Siena is not so well articulated, not so well proportioned, as that of the earlier work.

M. Reymond contrasts the pulpits of Pisa and Siena, and notes the change that French influences caused in the master's style in his *La Sculpture Florentine: Les Prédécesseurs de l'Ecole Florentine* (Florence, Alinari, 1897), p. 72. In a paper read by M. Bertaux before the International Historical Congress held in Paris in July, 1900, that critic discussed at length the traces of French influence in the achievement of Niccola Pisano.

Niccola at Pisa, is illustrated anew. But though he now varies his somewhat arbitrary study of the classic with the imitation of nature, he shows no symptoms of religious feeling, and his work, fine as it is, remains somewhat cold and formal.

Omitting for the present the tomb of St. Dominic in San Domenico of Bologna, which, as already remarked, is more properly a monument executed by Fra Guglielmo, we turn to the beautiful fountain which stands in front of the cathedral of Perugia to note the part which Niccola may have had in its execution. This fountain is made of three superposed polygonal trays, the upper tray of bronze, the lower trays of marble. The bottom one, of the largest size, is decorated with the lion and griffin, emblems of Perugia and the Guelphs, and fifty bas-reliefs illustrating the seasons, arts, and sciences. The second tray, on pillars, is adorned with twenty-four statuettes, of which two at least are now modern.[1] The fields of the second tray, originally prepared for bas-reliefs, remained bare. According to the inscription[2] on the basement, the monument was completed by Niccola and Giovanni in 1278; but a tradition has been handed down to us which assigns a share of the work to Arnolfo. Records of recent discovery have proved that Arnolfo was invited to take a part in the labours of his old master in 1277, but was prevented from accepting the invitation by engagements which he had made to King Charles of Naples. In September Charles allowed Arnolfo to proceed, and granted the use of certain marbles to the Perugians for the building of the fountain; and it appears from the books of the municipality that Arnolfo was receiving pay at the rate of ten soldi per diem as late as the 4th of February, 1281. It

[1] The two new statuettes are Melchisedek and an archangel.

[2] The inscription on the fountain of Perugia runs as follows:—

NOMINA SCULPTORŨM FONTIS SUNT ISTA BONORUM
CERTE PROBATUS NICOLAUS AD OFFICIA GRATUS
EST FLOS SCULPTORUM GRATISSIMUS ISQUE PROBORUM
ET GENITOR; PRIMUS GENITUS CARISSIMUS IMUS.
CUI SI NON DAMPNES NOMEN DICESSE JOANNES
NATUS PISANI. SINT NULLO TEMPORE SANI
ANNIS MILLE DUCENTIS SEPTUAGINTA BIS QUATUOR.

See VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, i., pp. 269–70, and MARIOTTI (A.), *Lettere Pittoriche* (8vo, Perugia, 1788), pp. 24–5.

A PORTION OF THE SIENA PULPIT
BY NICCOLA PISANO

Alinari, pho.

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is difficult to distinguish the work of these men, who all belonged to one school, it is true, yet who had their idiosyncrasies. Probably the true difficulty lies in the state of the marbles, which are partly corroded and partly incrusted.[1]

Amongst the figures which adorn the angles of the upper basin Niccola's peculiar style seems apparent, whilst in the reliefs of the lower basin, the allegories of the seasons, the sciences, and the arts display a broader style, which may be the work of Giovanni; and if so, Giovanni appears about this time to have overtaken Niccola in the race for improvement. In the fountain of Perugia (1278) Giovanni reveals power in distribution. In the reproduction of energetic types and chastened movements, and in the study of the nude his art is antique modified by constant appeals to nature.[2]

The noblest monument that can be assigned jointly to Niccola, Giovanni, or their school, is the Deposition from the Cross in the lunette above the portal of San Martino of Lucca, which may be admired as the perfection of a style which was gradually acquiring an original stamp as it stripped itself of purely imitative elements. No other example combined, in the same degree, skill in composition and grouping with boldness of attitude, foreshortening, and vigour of handling; deep study of nature and anatomy with lofty character and expression.

The body of the Saviour, still supple in death, has just been taken from the cross and is held in the powerful grasp of Joseph of Arimathea. On his shoulder the head, recumbent on the outstretched arm, hangs powerless. That arm the Virgin tenderly embraces, whilst St. John carefully upholds the other. Nicodemus strives to extract the nail from one of the feet. A youthful soldier near the Evangelist leans on a staff, and grasping the hilt of his sword, seems inspired with the wish to avenge the cruel agony of the Saviour. At his feet kneels one with a sponge on a plate waiting for the washing of the body, whilst behind

[1] Records to this effect exist in the archives of Perugia; they were communicated to us by Professor A. Rossi.

[2] Niccola restored the Pieve di Cortona, and founded the church of St. Margaret in the same city (VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 305). Morrona pretends that this was in 1297, when Niccola had been dead some years. He read in the Campanile the names of "Niccola and Johannes"; if so, the date is false (MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 69).

the Virgin stand two of the Marys. In the Saviour's suppleness of limb and frame, fine foreshortening, and perfect proportion, in the figures around, force is allied to natural movement, somewhat marred by squareness of stature and overcharge of drapery. Some feebleness of frame and classic imitation may be noted in the females. If compared with the earlier works of Pisa and Siena, it may be admitted that the carver of this subject had gradually freed himself from much of that merely imitative character which previously marked the school, and had given power and animation to figures by the study of nature; yet that, to the last, religious feeling remained as foreign to his mind as it was later to that of Donatello or Michael Angelo.

Equally interesting as a monument of the revival under the teaching of Niccola and Giovanni is the tomb of St. Margaret in the church dedicated to that saint at Cortona, where excellent distribution of space and grouping, combined with progress in the rendering of form and varied character in expression or attitudes, mark one of the finest productions of mixed architecture and sculpture in the thirteenth century.

The body of the tomb, resting on three brackets in the wall of the door of the sacristy, is adorned with four bas-reliefs representing incidents from the life of the saint—St. Margaret taking the vows; receiving the holy benediction; sick in her cell; and on her death-bed, after receiving the sacred oil. Nothing can be finer than the composition of these episodes. Beneath the brackets, the miracles of St. Margaret—her cure of the sick and lame, and the casting out of a devil at her shrine—are represented with equal power and intelligence. Some shortness and squareness of form may be noticed in figures which are otherwise of fine proportions and natural attitudes. A slight overcharge of drapery detracts at times from the beauty of the groups, as in the lunette relief of St. Martin at Lucca; but the monument as a whole is one of the great works of Pisan sculpture. On the slab of the tomb lies the statue of St. Margaret, beneath a daïs held up by two angels, the whole within a double pointed trefoil recess, supported on each side by twisted columns crowned at the pinnacle with statuettes, and supported in the centre on a bracket leaning upon a figure with a scroll. An airy lightness in the architecture, a harmonious subordination between it and the sculpture, form, together with the arrangement and working out of the bas-reliefs, an excellent whole.

It has not yet been possible to ascertain the authors of these monuments. To Niccola nothing can be assigned later than 1278, at which period he is noted with the fatal *quondam*,[1] but it must not be forgotten that, besides Fra Guglielmo, whose known works are inferior to those under consideration, Giovanni, Arnolfo, Lapo and his brothers Donato and Goro, shed some lustre on the architecture and sculpture of the thirteenth century.

Of Arnolfo, who, according to Vasari, was born in 1232 and learnt drawing from Cimabue,[2] little more is known than that he is the son not of Lapo, but of Cambio of Colle[3] di Val d'Elsa, that he was a disciple of Niccola and worked under him at the pulpit of Siena. Numerous architectural monuments have been assigned to him;[4] and there is no doubt that having practised by

[1] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 308. See further the original record of 1284 in MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, i., p. 163, in which he is noted as dead. How, then, could Niccola be the author of bas-reliefs in the Duomo of Orvieto, an edifice only commenced in 1290? (VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 305).

[2] VASARI, i., p. 249.

[3] GAYE (*Carteggio inedito*, Florence, 1839, 8vo, i., p. 445) publishes a record of April 1st, 1300, granting to Arnolfo certain privileges at Florence.

*[4] C. FREY, in his *Loggia de' Lanzi* (Berlin, 1885, p. 82 *et seq.*), promulgated the theory that Arnolfo di Cambio, the architect, and Arnolfo Fiorentine, the sculptor, Niccola Pisano's pupil, were two distinct persons. In its original form this theory was severely criticised by G. B. de ROSSI in the *Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana* (1891, p. 73 *et seq.*). The German critic has since strengthened his theory, and restated it in the *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa* (anno i., fasc. ii., pp. 86-90). He asserts that the sculptor was styled Arnolphus de Florentia, whilst the architect was known as Arnolfo di Cambio. He contrasts the style of the sculptor, as shown in the De Braye monument at Orvieto and the tabernacle of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura, with the style of the architect of S. Croce at Florence, and seeks to show that they have nothing in common. Certainly it is difficult to believe that the De Braye monument at Orvieto, which is the work of an imitator of the earlier manner of Niccola Pisano, who had been strongly influenced by the Cosmati, was by the same master who designed S. Croce and the old façade of S. Maria del Fiore. But the question cannot be regarded as settled.

The theory of the Comm. L. Fumi, the learned historian of the Duomo of Orvieto, that Arnolfo was the original architect of Orvieto Cathedral has nothing to commend it. There is no documentary evidence to support it; and in style the original design of that building has nothing in common with any of the works attributed to Arnolfo di Cambio. If Arnolfo di Cambio and Arnolfo Fiorentino were the same person, there is no evidence to show that he undertook any architectural work as early as 1282, when he visited Orvieto as a sculptor; nor can a single document be produced to prove that at that time or at any subsequent date he was consulted in any way by the Operai of the Duomo, or that he ever revisited the city. Evidence of style tends

turns at Pisa, Florence, Rome, and Naples, he died about the year 1300 in possession of the title and office of chief architect and sculptor of Santa Reparata of Florence.[1] Time has dimmed the lustre of his services as a sculptor, and most of the works assigned to him have perished, except the tomb of Cardinal de Braye at San Domenico of Orvieto, and the tabernacle of San Paolo-fuori-le-Mura at Rome. The monument of Cardinal de Braye, in the right transept of San Domenico at Orvieto, is a beautiful assemblage of highly polished marbles. On a bracket in a lancet-shaped receptacle, the Virgin enthroned holds the infant Christ. Beneath the bracket a stone panelling framed in pilasters bears a mutilated inscription of which the date is 1280 and the concluding line, HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLFUS. At each side of the pilasters a saint is standing, one of whom, to the left, recommends the kneeling donor. On a canopy below this the prelate lies with his arms crossed on his breast, and two figures hold back a curtain of bold sweeping fold, after the fashion of the Cosmati, the body resting on a panelled chest of fine workmanship in marble and mosaics. Though imperfect, this tomb is a very fine one, and displays Arnolfo's style much purified from the mere imitative dross of the antique.[2]

to show that the original design for Orvieto Cathedral was the work of some mediocre architect of the conservative Roman school, who produced an ill-constructed imitation of a Latin basilica, which had to be patched up a few years afterwards by Lorenzo del Maitano. See FUMI, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, Rome, 1891; NARDINI, *Lorenzo del Maitano e la facciata del Duomo d'Orvieto*, Rome, 1891; and DOUGLAS, *Orvieto Cathedral*, in the *Architectural Review* of June, 1903.

* [1] Vasari says Arnolfo died in 1300. The annotators of both the best critical editions of Vasari (see VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, i., 255 note 2, and VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., 290) quote the entry of his death in the Register of Santa Reparata at Florence as follows: "IIII idus (Martii), Obiit magister Arnolfus de[ll] opera di sancta Reparata MCCCX." But in C. FREY'S *Uber das Todesjahr des Arnolfo di Cambio* we have a facsimile of the register, which, at page 12[a], runs thus: "D. VIII. idus ϕ (sc. obiit) davanzato f. Alfieri Cambio chiavainolo: ϕ. magr̃ arnolfus delopa di sc̃a reparata MCCCX dn̄s bettus de brunelleschi," etc. The entries are all in different hands, but "MCCCX dn̄s Bettus de Brunelleschi" forms one entry and the date of 1310 belongs to that entry and not to the registry of Arnolfo's death, which has no date, as GAYE already observed in note to p. 445, *Carteggio, u.s.*, i. Arnolfo died on March 8th, 1301 (Florentine style). See C. FREY, *Arnolfo di Cambio architetto è da identificare collo scultore Arnolfo fiorentinus?* in the *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa*, anno i., fasc. 2, p. 88.

[2] The statuettes once on the pinnacles of the monument, the shields and other parts that came loose in course of time were lately, and may still be, stored in the Municipio of Orvieto.

The tabernacle at San Paolo, which had been seriously injured during the fire of 1823, was subsequently restored. Rumohr, who saw it in its original state, describes the four principal figures of apostles and saints, which are its chief ornament, as being amongst the finest productions of the time, because, though Arnolfo preserved the stunted proportions which he had acquired from Niccola, he gave them a "new spirit and individual style."[1] Since the statues were polished afresh, this praise no longer fully applies, yet as a monument of architectural sculpture the tabernacle is still a good example of Arnolfo's skill, being graceful and light in shape, and rich in the splendour of combined ornament and mosaic.

The tabernacle is raised on four pillars. At the upper angles of the structure are the four statues of St. Peter, St. Paul, a Benedictine monk, and another saint. The spandrels of the archings on four sides are richly ornamented. On one face is the patron with the model of the tabernacle in his hand, attended by an apostle, and presented by a bishop to St. Paul, who is himself attended by a mitred friar. On the second face are the sacrifices of Cain and Abel; on the third, two figures with diadems and scrolls; on the fourth, Eve taking the apple from the serpent and God forbidding Adam to accept it. In each of the four pinnacles are angels in couples; and four other angels are carved in the upper angles inside the tabernacle, in the act of flying downwards with censers or holding censer and candle. These angels are perhaps the best part of the tabernacle for select shape, good proportions, and bold movement.[2]

Vasari's assertion in the Giuntina edition that Arnolfo carved the tomb of Boniface VIII. (October 11, 1303) in the old Grotte or crypt of St. Peter at Rome, would fail to command our confidence on the sole ground that Arnolfo died before Boniface.[3] But

[1] RUMOHR, *Forschungen, u.s.*, ii., p. 156.

[2] On the corner of one side we read: ANNO MILLENO CENTŨ BIS ET OCTUAGENO QUINTO SUMME DS̃ OC̃ . . . H ABBAS BARTOLOMEUS FECIT OP̃S FIERI SIBI TU DIGNARE MERERI; in lines at each side of the foregoing: HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLFUS and CUM SUO SOCIO PETRO. Arnolfo is said also to have been the builder of the high altar at S. Cecilia-in-Trastevere, but the inscription quoted by Ugolini—HOC OPUS FECIT ARNULPHUS, ANNO DOMINI, 1283—did not exist when Plattner and Bunsen wrote their description of Rome, that is to say in the year 1830.

*[3] Of the original sepulchre of Boniface VIII. only a small fragment remains in the Sagre Grotte Vaticane. That the tomb was prepared in the lifetime of the

the Pope's tomb as it now stands looks so like the work of the Cosmati that it should probably be assigned to them.

The life of Niccola and his precursors has thus taught us the poverty of sculpture in Central Italy in contrast with the revival of the classic antique in Apulia, and its transfer from Apulia to Pisa. The life of Niccola and his disciples tells another tale. It tells how the classic, when transplanted into fertile Tuscan soil, began to live with a new life.

The culture which had been favoured by the strength of the Hohenstaufen in the south, now faded away during the struggles of hostile dynasties. And when Charles of Anjou settled down to rule at Naples, and discovered that the arts had been lost in the storms of war, he found that he had no resource left but to send to Tuscany for Arnolfo, who thus took back to the south a variety of that which in its original form had been carried by Niccola from Apulia into Tuscany.

Of Lapo, who was assistant to Niccola in Siena, records are preserved, but of his works in sculpture no trace remains.[1]

Fra Guglielmo, apparently the oldest of Niccola's pupils, left to posterity monuments inferior to those of his master. He entered the Dominican Order as a lay friar in 1257, and spent his years of novitiate in the convent of the fraternity at Pisa.[2] The chief productions of his chisel are the bas-reliefs of the tomb of St. Dominic in San Domenico of Bologna. The mortal remains of that saint had originally (1221) been confined in a wooden bier, from which they were removed with considerable pomp twelve years later, in presence of the Archbishop of Ravenna and the

Pope there is abundant evidence to prove. It formerly bore the following inscription:—

SACELLUM BONIF. VIII IN VATICANA BASILICA
HOC OP. FE-
-CIT ARNOLPHUS
ARCHITECTUS.

(See DE ROSSI, *Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, 1891, p. 73 *et seq.*). That this Arnolphus was the artist who executed the tabernacle of S. Paolo-fuori-le-Mura there can be no doubt.

[1] G. MILANESI, *u.s.*, *Documenti*, i., pp. 154, 156.

[2] *Cronaca del Convento di S. Catarina a Pisa*, in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vi., p 468.

Madonna & Child.
By Giovanni Pisano.
From an ivory Statuette in the Sacristy of the Duomo Pisa.

magistrates of Bologna (May 23, 1233).[1] Inclosed on this occasion in a simple urn of stone, they remained sealed until the completion of a marble sepulchre, the execution of which was entrusted to Niccola and Fra Guglielmo. The former, however, being bound by his contract at Siena, scarcely contributed more than the designs and composition of reliefs, which were only completed in 1267.

Several incidents in the life of St. Dominic and his disciples are the subjects of these reliefs which cover the sides of a quadrangular tomb.[2] In the first, the saint restores to life the youth Napoleon; in the second, the books of his doctrine are saved from the fire which consumed those of the Manicheans of Languedoc, and between the two is a statuette of the Virgin and Child. On the opposite front are three scenes of the life of the Beato Reginald of Orleans—St. Dominic appearing in a dream to Pope Honorius III. and supporting the falling church, Honorius examining and granting the rules of the order. On the short sides, St. Dominic receives the gospels from St. Peter and St. Paul, entrusts the same to his disciples; and angels bring food to the followers of the nascent brotherhood of the order. At the four angles are the four doctors of the church.

Fra Guglielmo in the carving of these subjects preserves, but enfeebles, the style of Niccola, to whom he is always inferior in character, expression, and design.

From Pisa he proceeded to Pistoia, where he erected, most probably in 1270, the pulpit of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, traces of his name and the foregoing date having been discovered on the marble itself, and in the records of Pistoia.[3] The shape of this monument is quadrangular. But the subjects carved on it are confined to three of its sides. In these six reliefs, which represent New Testament subjects, Niccola's system of arrangement is preserved, but Guglielmo's inferior powers are displayed. Without the marked squareness of stature, or the peculiar classicism of Niccola, the style is also wanting in the devotional spirit,

[1] MARCHESE, *Memorie*, etc. (8vo, Flor., 1854), i., p. 70.

[2] Except for some of the statues the tomb was completed with a cover by Maestro Niccola del fu Antonio di Puglia, in 1469. Some of the statuettes are by later artists, and the base is by Alfonso Lombardo (MARCHESE, *u.s.*, pp. 74-80).

[3] See TIGRI, *Guida di Pistoia* (Pistoia, 1854), p. 223.

which might have been expected from a member of a religious fraternity. Fra Guglielmo was employed in the loggia of the Duomo of Orvieto in 1293,[1] and as late as 1313 at San Michele in Borgo of the Camaldoles of Pisa. He died in the convent of St. Catherine of Pisa, having been fifty-seven years of the Dominican Order.[2]

After Niccola's death, Giovanni Pisano's career illustrates very fully the spread of the new art throughout Tuscany. There is a fulness, a variety in his creations, which give him a well-merited repute. He is an architect, as well as a sculptor, on a great scale, laying out such gigantic works as the Campo Santo of Pisa,[3] with the same success as he redecorated Santa Maria della Spina[4] or the baptistery before the close of the century. Working out the theory of Niccola on independent lines, that is, infusing the elements of the antique into the body of Tuscan sculpture,[5] after the example of Arnolfo, he appears to us even now as a prosperous artist, greatly in demand at a time when much was built that people required either to adorn with sculpture or to prepare for

[1] DELLA VALLE, *Storico del Duomo di Orvieto, u.s.*, p. 263.

[2] See inscription to that effect, transcribed in MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., pp. 101–2. "Chron. and Annals of St. Catherine of Pisa," in MARCHESE, *u.s.*, i., p. 398. One of Fra Guglielmo's pupils was Fazio, a lay brother Dominican, who died 1340. See *Cronaca del Convento di Santa Caterina a Pisa*, in *Archivio Storico*, vi., p. 504.

[3] Commenced in 1278. See the original inscription to that effect in VASARI (ed. Sansoni, i., p. 309), who says the Virgin and Child on the pinnacle is by Giovanni. The height is great for a critical examination, but the cast reveals the hand of Giovanni. He mentions also a portrait of Niccola there. In the life of Andrea Pisano he adds that at S. Maria della Spina Nino, Andrea's son, produced a portrait of his father. Has he not confounded these portraits, which do not exist, with a statue of the apostle Peter?

* [4] The chapel of S. Maria della Spina did not attain to its present form until the year 1325. The sculptured ornament here is probably the work of one of Giovanni Pisano's pupils. Signor Supino attributes the Virgin and Child on the central pinnacle to Andrea Pisano (*Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, anno vi., fasc. v.). A careful examination of this figure leads us to believe that he is right.

* [5] The most important achievement of Giovanni Pisano was that he introduced into Tuscan sculpture French-Gothic and romantic elements, that he developed his father's later manner. Like his father, though in a less degree, he was in some measure an imitator of the antique. But he imitated much more closely the works of the early French masters. The life-size Virgin and Child is singularly French in feeling, and suggests that the artist had studied some such ivory-carvings of the Madonna, of the thirteenth century, as are to be seen in the Cluny Museum, a view which the study of Giovanni's own ivory Madonna in the sacristy of the Duomo confirms.

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST AND THE MESSAGE TO THE SHEPHERDS *Alinari, pho.*

BY GIOVANNI PISANO

Detail from a pulpit in the Museo Civico, Pisa, formely in the Cathedral I.—*To face page* 132

the brush of the painters, who followed in the wake of the architects and sculptors.

A boy apprentice at Siena when Niccola began the pulpit of Siena, a master when Niccola took him as his partner to Perugia, he soon rose to a very high position, and as he rose he produced what may truly be considered the best work that came from under his chisel. His labours at Pisa, after 1278, continue without much interruption till he goes to Naples in 1283, and thence to Siena in 1284. Before he went south, he probably carved the celebrated group above the frieze of the eastern gate of the Campo Santo which represents the Virgin and Child between two saints, one of whom, St. John, introduces to her a youthful figure of a kneeling patron.[1] Here Giovanni laboured in that grand style which marks his work at Perugia, a style by which other works of the same period may be distinguished. The life-size Virgin and Child beneath the first fresco of Benozzo, in the interior of the Campo Santo, may be placed amongst this class, revealing in the master a feeling of grandeur allied to a study of nature in its happiest mood. The Infant's playful smile pleasantly contrasts with the classic features of the Virgin, her antique profile and broad, fleshy throat; and under the artist's hand the marble seems to represent elastic forms and articulations, and draperies of breadth. A tabernacle on the front of one of the gates of the Campo Santo likewise incloses six statues of

[1] Beneath the Madonna is the inscription: SUB PETRI CURA FUIT HÆC PIA SCULPTA FIGURA NICOLI NATO SCULTORE JOHĒ VOCATO. Vasari says the kneeling figure is Pietro Gambacorti, *operaio* of the Duomo, which the annotators deny.

* The authors, as Morrona and Rosini did before them, have confused two entirely different works. The Virgin and Child with St. John Baptist presenting a kneeling figure on the left, and with another saint on the right, is not above the entrance to the Campo Santo, but above the frieze of the eastern portal of the baptistery. The Madonna is a fine, stately figure. Classical and French-Gothic influences meet in her. This work was not executed when Pietro Gambacorti was *operaio* of the Duomo, for Gambacorti never held that office. It was chiselled when another Peter was master of the works. The Peter to whom the inscription refers was *operaio* in 1304 (Archivio di Stato, Pisa, *Archivio del Capitolo*, filza 2). We find him mentioned as holding this position as late as 1315 (Archivio di Stato, Pisa, *Arch. dell' Opera, entrata e uscita* 9, c. 48). The Madonna and saints above the baptistery doorway was executed, I believe, in about the year 1304.

The tabernacle, with the Madonna and four saints, above the door of the Campo Santo is not from the hand of Giovanni Pisano, and is quite an inferior work.

saints, and the architecture, as well as the sculpture, do the Pisan honour.[1]

In 1284 Giovanni becomes a citizen of Siena, and director of the works of the Siena Cathedral, which he superintends with casual interruptions till 1299. There are traces of his labours in certain ivories carved in 1300 for the canons of Pisa,[2] and a font adorned with figures for a suburban church near Pisa. He produced the holy-water font with figures of the Virtues in San Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia, and the well-known pulpit in Sant' Andrea, in the same city, in 1301; and at Pisa, in 1302, he began the other pulpit, in which he competed, not ineffectually, with his own father.[3] Later on, it is said, he executed the monument of Benedict XI. in San Domenico of Perugia, which seems such hasty work that it may be assigned to his disciples. Finally, he designed, according to Vasari, the carved reliefs of the front pilaster of the cathedral of Orvieto, which, for various reasons, cannot be accepted as his work. In 1313 the tomb of Matilda, Empress of Henry VII. of Luxemburg, was finished, of which the remains are still in the Villa Brignole at Voltri. Giovanni's death is variously dated 1320 and 1328. To dwell minutely on the characteristic features

[1] Of the same period, perhaps, is the Virgin and Child on the pinnacle of the front of the Duomo.

* The Virgin on the pinnacle of the front of the Duomo is not by Giovanni Pisano. The existing statue was executed in 1346, long after Giovanni's death, to replace another figure which had fallen down in the great earthquake of 1322. See SARDO, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vi., vii., p. 104; and SUPINO, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Serie Seconda, anno i., 1895, fasc. i., ii., p. 51.

* [2] The Madonna in ivory which is preserved in the sacristy of Pisa Cathedral is proved by documentary evidence to be a work of Giovanni. This statuette occupies a most important position in the history of art. It is one of the links that connect the Tuscan with the early French art that preceded it. It reveals to us the channel by which the influence of the northern masters reached Tuscany. The early portable works of the great French carvers came to Italy with Provençal songs and French costumes, and were imitated by the Italian masters. The great Madonna of Giovanni in the Campo Santo is closely allied to Giovanni's ivory Madonna, and that in its turn is a masterly, not a servile, imitation of some French ivory Madonna.

* [3] Signor Supino has shown that some of the pieces hitherto supposed to form a part of this pulpit do not belong to it, but to Tino da Camaino's tomb of Henry VII. For Signor Supino's reconstruction of the pulpit, see the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Serie Seconda, anno i., 1895, fasc. i., ii., pp. 52–69.

Alinari photo. Art Reprod.

Pulpit in Church of S. Andrea Pistoia.

Giovanni Pisano.

of his numerous works would exceed the space at the disposal of historians of painting. It will be sufficient to point out that the master is always at his best in single statues, or groups of detached figures, where no display of religious feeling is required, and success is achieved by dexterous manipulation, ready action, energetic movement, and appropriate expression. Prominent examples of these qualities are apparent in the statues, single and clustered, of the pulpit of Sant' Andrea, and the Virtues on the holy-water stoup of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas of Pistoia. In bas-relief composition still remains what it was in Niccola's work. But the antique, to which both father and son appealed, is no longer followed by Giovanni with imitative zeal. Traces of it remain, tempered by a constant reference to nature, so that a curious mixture of the classic and realistic is created, in which, the old process of selection being neglected, form, instead of being shaped according to the laws of refinement, is reproduced, either coarsely or with accidental disproportions and defects, which impair the beauty of the whole. It is curious to observe also that these defects are manifested most conspicuously where they ought to be avoided, that is, in the figure of the crucified Saviour, whose shape is either too lean, or too bony, or coarse beyond the permissible measure in extremities.

But Giovanni, on the other hand, is favourably distinguished by the subtle insight which enables him to catch and to delineate actions extremely appropriate for certain well-known Scripture subjects, which he helps to form, not only for himself, but for generations that come after him. So that, in one phase at least of his art, he rivals the Giottesques, by supplanting classic conventionalism with realistic and homely truths. In the Last Judgment the angel wrestles powerfully with the souls of the evildoers. The Magi are warned by the messenger of God to avoid Herod, and the vision is one that becomes typical. So, again, with the Virgin fainting amongst the women at the foot of the cross, or playing prettily with the babe as she rides on the ass in the Flight into Egypt. In the artist who represented the Virgin raising the veil from the sleeping Child's face we see a precursor of Raphael. The nurse in the Nativity holds the Child and tests the temperature of the water in which it is to be

washed. This, too, is an incident which artists of the revival never forgot. And all this is caught up and rendered by one highly observant of nature, though still in the trammels of an old-school tradition.

To sum up, it is evident that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as in earlier ages, sculptors existed in every part of Italy, but that they had lost all but the traditions of Christian composition. In the south of Italy, however, the antique still drew life from a source which elsewhere was clearly exhausted. Classicism, suddenly transported to Central Italy by Niccola, naturally created wonder amongst men reduced to an almost primitive generalisation of art. Niccola's manner created emulation and rivalry in the study of form, and the examples of Pisa in this sense were of advantage to all the schools of Italy. But whilst Niccola infused a new spirit into the art of his time, he could not recreate Christian types. His art, had it remained unsupported by the new current of religious and political thought which became so sensible in the thirteenth century, would perhaps have perished without leaving a trace behind it; but it produced an emulation which yielded the noblest fruits, and convinced Niccola himself that without a return to the study of nature no progress could possibly be made.[1] In his attempt to graft on the conventional imitation of the antique a study of nature Niccola failed; nor would his son and pupils have succeeded even in the measure which their works display but for the examples which were created for them in the Florentine school.[2] The spirit which had been roused throughout Italy by the examples and miracles of St. Francis contributed to the development of an art based on nobler principles than those of mere imitation, and the spirit of which Giotto was the incarnation spread with uncommon speed

*[1] It has been pointed out that Niccola studied nature under French influences. How he was first brought under such influences we do not know. But in the pulpit at Siena, and especially in the single figures of that pulpit, the influence of the great nameless sculptors of France is unmistakable. The manifestations of this influence are yet more pronounced in the works of Giovanni. See REYMOND, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

*[2] But Giotto and contemporary Tuscan painters were deeply influenced by the potent artistic personality of their senior, Giovanni Pisano, as Dr. Bode demonstrated some thirty years ago.

throughout the whole of the Peninsula, affected the schools of sculpture, and assisted them also in the development of a new life. So that whilst Niccola revived the feeling for true form, others gave to that form a new meaning and laid the foundation for the greatness of Italian art.

CHAPTER V

PAINTING IN CENTRAL ITALY

WE saw how sculpture gradually rose from a very low state to a high level in Pisa, Siena, and Florence. We shall now deal with examples of early painting in the same localities, in order to show how the depression which lay so long over those parts gradually yielded to a current of progress.

If time had spared the earlier decorations of Tuscan churches we might no doubt trace with comparative ease the spread of decay. The remains which have survived afford but a faint notion of the true condition of things previous to the advent of Cimabue. Wall paintings are almost entirely wanting. But amongst the things which the Church has preserved we count a certain number of old crucifixes, which alone afford materials for a history of the art which they illustrate.

Painted crucifixes, at the close of the eleventh century, were much in use in churches, where it was customary to suspend them from the transoms, which then formed a necessary part of places of worship. In shape these crucifixes imitated the form of the church itself, the limbs of the cross representing the nave, choir, and transepts, and sets of panels, ranged along the lower limb of the cross, simulating rows of side chapels in the aisles. The body of the Redeemer was depicted on the cross, whilst the side panels contained scenes from the Passion.

Christ crucified was represented at first, as we have seen, in a state of absolute repose. The hands and feet were separately nailed, the eyes were open, and the body was erect. The crucifixes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries will show how the sermons of the Middle Ages modified traditions; and the

Redeemer was exhibited at first in suffering and at last in torture.

Amongst the earliest crucifixes the colossal one at San Michele in Foro of Lucca is the best preserved. It is by an artist of the eleventh century, whose ideal of the Saviour is neither perfect nor attractive. The frame is erect, of good proportions; the eyes are open, and the feet apart; the head, slightly inclined to the right, is somewhat long, the nose equally so, and the mouth and eyes are small. The form, which is roughly outlined in black, is imperfectly rendered, yet without glaring inaccuracy of anatomy.[1] Plastic art helps to produce the idea of relief, and whilst the whole figure is painted of an uniform colour the idea of rotundity is given by the sculptured projection of the frame, which merges into the flat at the neck, wrists, and feet. The head, with its nimbus, is painted on a projecting wedge in order that it may be more visible to the spectator. The whole of the figure is painted on a canvas beaten into the priming which covers the wood above the crucified Redeemer; the Eternal appears enthroned in benediction, the gospel on his knee, two adoring angels at his feet. The symbols of the Evangelists are in couples at the ends of the horizontal limb of the cross. Beneath the feet Peter denies Christ. In the side panels are the Virgin, the Evangelists, the Crucified Thieves, the Entombment, and the Marys at the Sepulchre.

The execution of this very old relic is rude to an extreme degree, and the gospel scenes are composed in the oldest typical form.

A later example of the same kind is the crucifix of Santa Giulia at Lucca, representing, without relief, the Saviour, Evangelists, saints and angels, and scenes of the Passion. But the decline even of this art may be noticed in the forms and attitude and in the mode in which the painting is executed. The figure is still erect, but the head is a little more bent than

[1] The stature and position of the Saviour is the same as that in the Crucifixion at S. Urbano alla Caffarella at Rome, and in that of the bronze gates of Bonanno at Monreale. The hair divided in the middle falls down the shoulders, and a gold drapery is fastened by a jewelled girdle to the hips. The cross is painted blue on a gold ground. An ornamented border runs round the panels at the sides. The outlines have suffered from restoring, and the colour is darkened by time.

before. The drawing is worse, and green half tints contrast with reddish shadows. The modelling of the parts is rendered by meandering lines, the features by closely repeated red, black, and white streaks. This crucifix, which is connected with a miracle of the year 1209,[1] may be of the latter half of the twelfth century. Two crucifixes, similar to these but damaged by time, in San Donnino and Santa Maria de' Servi at Lucca prove the existence of painters there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The further decay of painting in that locality is evident from the works of a family of artists which can be traced back to the opening of the thirteenth century. Amongst the names of men who signed the treaty of peace with Pisa in 1228 occur those of Bonaventura, Barone, and Marco, sons of one Berlingherus, a Milanese. Marco painted an illuminated Bible in 1250. Barone completed several crucifixes—one for the Pieve of Casabasciana in 1254, another for Sant' Alessandro Maggiore at Lucca in 1284. Of Bonaventura, whose works have alone been preserved, panels and wall paintings are known to have been delivered in 1235 and 1244.[2] Some years ago a picture assigned to Margaritone in the church of San Francesco of Pescia, was subjected to a rigid examination by Professor Michele Ridolfi, who discovered that according to a practice not uncommon in past times, the head of the principal figure was part of a picture concealed under a superposed panel. This later addition having been removed, a standing figure of St. Francis appeared of over life size, holding a book and showing the stigmata, with two archangels at his shoulders, and six incidents of his life in a triple course of panels at his sides. The lines of an inscription showed that the picture was painted by Bonaventura Berlingheri

[1] See the opuscule of TELESFORO BINI (8vo, Lucca), pp. 13, 18.

[2] TELESFORO BINI, *u.s.*, p. 15; *Atti della R. Acad. di Lucca*, xiii., p. 365; Archives of the Chapter of Lucca, lib. LL. 25, fol. 78; Archives of the Cancelleria del Vescovado, Lucca, lib. 6, fol. 10, in BINI, *u.s.*, p. 15. Bonaventura painted on the wall in Lucca in 1244 (Archives of the Cancelleria del Vescovado, lib. LL. 18, fol. 115). He painted in 1243 a panel for the Archdeacon of Lucca (*ibid.* 17, fol. 12). Barone was summoned to complete within a given time a Madonna which he and Bonaventura had commenced at Sant' Alessandro of Lucca (*ibid.*, L. No. 3, fol. 2, in *Lettera del prof. M. Ridolfi al Marchese Selvatico*, 8vo, Lucca, 1857, p. 15). Again Barone promises to paint a room for the canons of the cathedral of Lucca in 1240 (same Archives, lib. II. 18, fol. 115 in *Lettera, u.s.*, p. 16).

in 1235, some years after the death of St. Francis.[1] Unfortunately it is a very defective portrait on gold ground, presenting the saint in frock and cord and cowl, and of long and slender proportions. The shaven head, of regular and bony form, with sharp features and a wrinkled brow, is supported on a very thin neck. The figure seems to hang in air with a pair of very ugly, pointed feet resting on nothing. The flesh tints are of a bronzed yellow, with green shadows stippled in black, and defined by coarse dark outlines and streaks of white light. The execution is perhaps more careful, and the idea of rotundity less feebly conveyed than in the crucifix of Santa Giulia, but the method is the same. The folds of the frock, which is all of one colour, are indicated by lines. The half lengths of archangels, with embroidered dresses, are in the old motionless style, and the episodes of the saint's life are rendered with childish simplicity, and coloured in sharply contrasted colours. St. Francis may be seen talking to sparrows of a gigantic size, perched on trees growing out of a conical hill; and, in a style of similar primitive exaggeration, we have the saint receiving the stigmata, restoring a dead child to life, giving alms, healing a lame man, and expelling a devil at Arezzo.

The range of Berlingheri's powers, as shown in these pieces, is quite on a level with that of the sculptors who practised in Central Italy before the arrival of Niccola Pisano. But it is a range at which many others were standing at the same time, as we may observe in a diptych in the Florence Academy by a Lucchese painter of the thirteenth century, who represents the crucified Saviour lifeless, with drooping head and closed eyes, and combines with this subject the Virgin's Swoon, the Saviour on the road to Golgotha, the Entombment, the Virgin and Child, and figures of saints. Though assigned to Bonaventura Berlingheri, and traceable to the convent of Santa Chiara of Lucca, this picture can only be taken as an illustration of the decay of which even Berlingheri's art was capable.[2]

[1] The inscription runs thus :—

A.D. MCCXXXV.
BONAVĒTURA BERLĪGHERI DE LU . . ."

But see also BINI, *u.s.*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Florence Academy, Sale dei Maestri Toscani, Sala Prima, No. 101.

After the Berlingheri comes Deodato Orlandi, the author of a crucifix now in the magazines of the palace of Parma, having been in San Cerbone, near Lucca, and in the ducal chapel of Marlia. Deodato lived at the close of the thirteenth century.[1]

He represents the Saviour on the cross in a more defective and unnatural shape than Berlingheri, with a long and ill-proportioned frame, protruding hips, and a sunken head. The Saviour in Benediction at the top of the cross, unlike that of the Crucifixion, is of an oval and regular shape, whilst the Virgin and St. John Evangelist, lamenting at the extremity of the arms, reveal the artist's lack of power in imparting expression otherwise than by contraction of brow and features.[2]

Another crucifix of the same type as the foregoing but executed a year later has comparatively recently been added to the gallery of Lucca. It also bears the master's name, and the date of 1289.[3]

Deodato still painted as late as 1301,[4] when he completed a gable altarpiece in five arched divisions inclosing the Virgin enthroned between St. James, St. Damian, St. Peter, and St. Paul, now in the gallery of Pisa.

He gives to the Madonna a high forehead, small chin and neck, and a face in which grieving is expressed by wrinkles, whilst, as regards colour, some additional lightness appears due to the study of examples now increasing in numbers under the impulse of the Florentine revival.

Here was a guild of painters, which for centuries had done nothing to stem the current of decay in art, represented at last by a painter of the very lowest possible class.[5]

[1] His crucifix is inscribed: A.D. M.CCLXXXVIII. DEODATUS FILIUS ORLANDI DE LUCHA ME PINXIT.

[2] The outlines in the crucifix are of a certain tenuity and cut into the surface. The nimbus as usual projects. The blue mantle and red tunic of the Saviour in Glory have been retouched. The Saviour Crucified is also retouched.

[3] Viz.: A.D. M.CCLXXXVIIII. DEODATUS FILIUS ORLANDI DE LUCHA ME PINXIT.

*[4] Pisa Gallery, Sala III., No. 4. A.D. M.CCCI. DEODATUS ORLANDI ME PINXIT.

[5] Padre Antonio da Brandeglio, in a life of St. Cerbone, alludes to Deodato's crucifix of 1288, and adds that the same Deodato was commissioned to paint "una imagine" for the nuns of San Cerbone. In 1295 the convent was on fire, and the crucifix with a picture of the Virgin and Child in the midst of saints was saved with difficulty (*Atti uffiziali della Reale Acad. Lucch.*, Lucca, 1845, by Prof. RIDOLFI, xii. p. 20). There is now at San Cerbone a picture of the Virgin holding the Saviour

In Lucca, however, there were mosaists who might have excelled where painters and sculptors failed. But those who in the thirteenth century decorated the front of the church of San Frediano, display in a disproportioned figure of the Redeemer, supported by angels of vehement and exaggerated movement, or in apostles of defective forms, no greater skill than their comrades.

At Pisa, painters existed apparently in very early times. As far back as 1275 money was voted by the "comune" for the purpose of repainting "the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints on the gates of the city," because they were then well-nigh obliterated.[1] The earliest examples of painting are now crucifixes, the oldest of which at Santa Marta produces the same impression as the Crucified Redeemer in Sant' Angelo near Capua. The body hangs heavily from the cross, but the frame is still straight, the eyes are open and menacing, and the feet apart.

This crucifix probably belongs to the eleventh century.[2] Its side panels represent the Capture, Christ before Pilate, and Christ crowned with thorns, and the scourging, the descent from the cross, and the Marys at the tomb. In the Capture the Redeemer appears prominent in stature, in the midst of a crowd of smaller mortals. To the left, Peter strikes Malchus. One of the Marys in the Descent from the Cross stands on a stool and helps to lower the body, supported by Joseph of Arimathea; the Virgin kisses the hand and Nicodemus extracts the nail. In the last subject, the angel sits on the tomb, the women listen with surprise to his announcement of the Resurrection, and a soldier sleeps at the foot of the sepulchre. In two small panels at the foot of the cross St. Peter sits at a fire and a figure knocks at the door.

tenderly—in good movement and well draped, with the narrow eyes peculiar to Simone and Ugolino of Siena, of clear flesh tints and neat outlines,—of St. John Evangelist with a long flowing beard and a face full of character coloured with much impasto. Both figures, painted on verde flesh tint with shadows stippled in red, rouged cheeks and lips, betray the manner of the school of Siena, and a far later date than 1301. But even if of 1301, how could this picture be saved from fire in 1295? and again, how could Deodato paint a better picture before 1295 than that of 1301?

[1] BONAINI, *Notizie Inedite*, pp. 87, 88.

[2] The bust of the Saviour in Glory, apparently broken off from the top of the cross, is now placed immediately above the projecting nimbus of the Crucified Redeemer. The figures on the arms of the cross as usual represent the Virgin and St. John. Some of the small scenes are partly damaged by time and restoring.

These subjects deserve to be noticed, because they are repeated in the same traditional form and grouping by later and more able artists. They are rendered in the crucifix of Santa Marta with some animation of movement, with distances of red houses on gold ground, and they are painted with considerable body of colour.

Another crucifix of the same period has been recently discovered in San Sepolcro of Pisa, in which the Redeemer is represented erect, and of fair proportions, but the execution is rude. The contours are red in light and black in shadow. Lines give the features in profile, the eyes are remarkable for stare, and the nose has an unpleasant bend. Some diversity is also apparent in the rendering of the subjects.

The Virgin and Evangelist, near the hands, are replaced by the Last Supper and Christ washing the Apostles' Feet. Beneath the feet we observe the Descent of the Holy Spirit; on the side panels, the Last Supper, Christ and the Apostles, the Capture and Crucifixion, the Women at the Sepulchre, and the Meeting at Emmaus.

The painters of Pisa and Lucca, in their mode of representing the Saviour, merely followed a custom which had become general throughout many parts of Italy, as we observe in a crucifix at Sarzana, where the open-eyed Christ is erect on the cross in the fashion peculiar to the eleventh century; and in a crucifix at San Giovanni e Paolo of Spoleto inscribed with the name of Albertus and the date of 1187,[1] in which the position of the Sufferer does not essentially differ from that of the Redeemer in the Cappella del Martirologio at Rome.

It may, however, be remarked that Alberto gives to the head the bullet shape occasionally to be found in pictures and mosaics at Rome after the seventh century, combined with a high forehead, hair falling in waves along the sides of a slender neck, round eyes, and a nose with a round protrusion at the end. The feet and hands are long, and the forms are bounded by a continuous wiry outline. Some little shadow of a reddish hue relieves the general yellowish tone. The cheek also is a little rouged.[2]

[1] A.D. MCLXXXVII. M. OPUS ALBERTO SOM . . .

[2] On parchment stretched on wood. The loins of the Saviour are enveloped in a transparent green cloth bordered with red. The head and nimbus project. The

Superior to this, but doubtless of the second half of the twelfth century, is the crucifix in the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo at Pisa,[1] in which the lean figure of the Redeemer on the cross is marked by a certain elasticity.

The bending head and closed eyes indicate the progress of modern religious conceptions, though as yet pain is merely rendered by a quiet mournfulness. The drawing is still incorrect. The features are rudely made out, the diaphragm and stomach are indicated by lines, and the extremities are thin and pointed. The attendant episodes are better and livelier in action than before. They include the Descent from the Cross, the Wail of the Virgin bearing the corpse of Christ on her lap amidst saints and angels, the Entombment, the Marys at the Sepulchre, Christ at Emmaus, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas. At the extremities of the horizontal limb are the Virgin and Evangelist together, and the three Marys together. On a second horizontal projection there are four archangels with orbs and sceptres, and at the Saviour's feet the Limbus.

Mournfulness and grief are more emphasised than usual in a crucifix at San Pietro in Vinculis, now San Pierino of Pisa, in which, though the feet of the colossal Saviour are still separately nailed to the cross, the hips hang outwards and hideously realise the idea of death. At the same time care and age are expressed in the face. The oblique brows, forehead, and closed eyes are furrowed with wrinkles. Anatomy seems to have been studied in vain, and the execution shows a gradual decline from the standard of previous years.[2]

Saviour's hair is a dull red, as at St. Elia of Nepi. The blood from the wounds flows into a death's head, the emblem of the first man; and at the sides, instead of scenes of the Passion, are two panels representing the Virgin and the Evangelist.

[1] The date of this crucifix may be fixed with accuracy, by the attitude and expression of the Saviour, between A.D. 1150 and 1190. Hence it is difficult to assent to the opinion of those who assign it to Appollonius, a Greek, whom Vasari mentions without convincing us of the reality of his existence. The crucifix was formerly in S. Matteo and San Lorenzo of Pisa. But see the commentary on the life of Tafi, in VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, i., p. 288.

[2] The contours are coarse and dark, the colour thin and brownish in hue. The medallion of the Saviour in Glory at the top is supported by two angels in flight, and on a tablet below it the descent of the Spirit is depicted. At the ends of the horizontal limb two archangels stand holding the orb and sceptre. The Virgin and St. John are on the sides, as in the crucifix of Spoleto, and at the foot St. Peter and

With this doleful representation of the divinity of the Saviour, we are introduced to the degenerate style of Giunta Pisano, who, though not the author of it, carefully copied its defects.

Giunta, instead of exhibiting improvement, merely illustrates the decay of painting. Art, reduced to the representation of one figure, which in itself should have combined all excellence, now reached a level below which it was only just possible to fall. Giunta produced, in the crucifix of San Raineri e Leonardo at Pisa, a work more absolutely repulsive than any previous one.

Whilst he preserves the custom of keeping the feet of the Saviour apart, he realises the idea of death and pain by overhanging hips, the total abandonment of the head to its own weight, and a hideous exaggeration of grief. It would be difficult to find anything more unattractive than the angular contractions and swollen muscles of the brow, the vast and unnatural forehead, the large nose cut into two or three sharp planes, the hair mapped out in masses on the shoulder, nothing worse than the proportions of the long, falsely anatomised body, the short arms, and long, pointed feet. The head of the Saviour on gold ground at the top of the cross corresponds with that of the crucified Redeemer, in so far as its lean shape, round gazing eyes, and enormous wig are ugly and repulsive—a character to which the Virgin and Evangelist at the extremity of the limbs are equally entitled.[1]

Painting in Pisa was evidently at a low ebb at the time of Giunta, of which no better proof need be sought than is afforded by the rude works of San Pietro-in-Grado. In the first half of the thirteenth century the chief aisle of this edifice was painted in the style then usual throughout Italy.

In the upper course, beneath a painted cornice, angels are depicted as if appearing at open or half-closed windows, made, by a rude sort of perspective, to imitate recesses and openings. In a lower course, episodes from the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul are depicted, amongst which the martyrdoms of both are fairly visible. Lower again a series of

the servant—the whole painted on a primed canvas stretched on the gesso. This crucifix is on gold ground, and the projections at the sides are ornamented with black and red fillets.

[1] This crucifix is inscribed below the feet of the Saviour: JUNCTA PISANUS ME FECIT, and hung, in the time of Morrona (*Pisa. Illust.*, ii. p. 135), in the kitchen of the convent of St. Anna of Pisa. The episodes of the Passion are wanting.

painted arches are filled with portraits of popes, some of which are now modern. The whole of the architecture, real or feigned, is coloured in raw and harsh tones. The figures are heavy and square in proportions, and large of forehead and head, the figures being indicated by profiled lines of angular or oblique direction. The eyes are large and round, the mouths small and expressed by three strokes, the beards by three or four touches of a brush. The outlines generally are red. Yet in all this rudeness the characteristic traits of St. Peter and St. Paul are still preserved. The technical method is that which consists in covering the space within the outlines with verde, over which the yellow lights are laid in with a red patch to mark the cheeks.

If Giunta be not the author of these paintings, there can be no doubt that the artist was of the school out of which he arose; for here there is no more trace of the Greek manner—respecting which so much has been said by the historians of Italian and chiefly of Pisan art—than is to be found in all the works of this period in many parts of Italy.

Besides the paintings of San Pietro-in-Grado, other specimens of art exist in Pisa itself which betray great barbarism; for instance, the Madonna and saints in the *Opera* of the cathedral, a wall painting darkened by time, coarsely thrown off with much body of tempera colour.[1]

With little more art, and in the mixed architectural and pictorial manner of San Pietro-in-Grado, the middle aisle of the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi seems to have been covered, between 1225 and 1250, with scenes from the life of the Saviour and St. Francis. It had been the aim of the Franciscans, at the very earliest possible moment after the death of their founder, to illustrate with the help of pictures the theory that such of the faithful as might venture to follow his example would find in heaven a place of eternal rest. It was for this reason that the subjects of the Passion had been taken in juxtaposition with those of the life of St. Francis and depicted on the wall of the aisle in the lower church of San Francesco. On one side of the aisle one could see the Descent from the Cross, on the other St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. But these first illustrations of

[1] The Virgin and Child are enthroned between St. John the Baptist and St. John Evangelist in niches. See a print in ROSINI, *Storia della Pittura*, *u.s.*, i., p. 76.

the Franciscans were rude, as we shall presently observe. The Order grew rapidly in importance and wealth; the aisle proved too small for the wants of the community. Its walls were broken through for the purpose of forming arched entrances to rows of side chapels, and the frescoes were lost except on those parts which did not require removal. But such was the conservatism of the friars that they preserved the fragments of the primitive decoration, and they are still visible to us in their mutilated state.

At the sides of the first arch in the central aisle are remnants of a Descent from the Cross, of which the ladder and one of the timbers are visible. In the opposite spandrel there are fragments of a Calvary, with Mary and her women accompanying the procession. Part of the Descent from the Cross fills the spandrel of the next arch, with half the figure of Christ, supported by Joseph of Arimathea, John kissing the hand, Nicodemus extracting the nails from the feet, which are fastened apart, and one of the Marys orant. On the opposite spandrel Christ is on the ground, the three women support the Madonna, and portions of other figures are in the vicinity. The third arch is almost bare, even of stains of colour.

On the opposite side of the aisle, the nearest spandrel of the first arch only shows us St. Francis, whose nakedness is covered by the mantle of the bishop. The other spandrel contains St. Francis and the Pope who dreams that the church would fall but for the saint's support. At the edges of the second arch are St. Francis and the Sparrows and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. On the nearest spandrel of the third arch the body of Francis lies on a bed, attended by friars with lighted tapers and censers.

Though Vasari assigns these wall paintings to Cimabue and certain Greeks, his companions, it is clear that the execution is that of an earlier artist, because the handling betrays a feebler hand than that of Cimabue, and because the treatment is similar to that which we find in San Pietro-in-Grado, near Pisa.[1] Yet, on the whole, it may be said that even these defective productions display a certain amount of progress in the delineation of movement and the forming of groups, especially in those fragments which comprise the Funeral of the Saint, the Descent from the

[1] VASARI, i., p. 223.

Cross, and the Virgin grieving over the Dead Body of Christ. Why the painters should be Greeks it is difficult to understand, except on the assumption that everything poor in art in the thirteenth century is Greek, in which case Giunta would be the most genuine of all the Byzantines.[1]

Whatever may have been this painter's real birthplace he is claimed by the Pisans as their own, and in this they are authorised by a signature in which he calls himself Pisanus.[2]

That Giunta lived in the first half of the thirteenth century is a fact confirmed as much by records as by the evidence of style. The crucifix of Santi Raineri e Leonardo is a genuine example of the master, and we therefore accept or reject the works assigned to him according as they approach or recede from the original pattern. Setting aside, for this reason, two crucifixes in the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo, a third, of colossal size, in the hospital of Pisa, and a fourth in Santa Caterina of Siena,[3] Giunta may again be traced to Assisi, where, after 1220, he is said to have laboured in the upper church of San Francesco. The annalists of Pisa, Wadding and Father Angeli, vouch for the truth of statements, according to which Giunta painted a Crucifixion, with Father Elias, the first general of the Franciscans, embracing the foot of the cross, on a large panel which hung, until 1624, on a transom in this edifice.[4] Giunta's presence at

[1] Still earlier wall paintings were noticed by RUMOHR in the crypt of San Francesco of Assisi (*Forschungen*, i., p. 193), but they have since been obliterated.

[2] CIAMPI (*Notizie Ined.*, *u.s.*, p. 140) publishes a contract of sale, drawn up in 1202, between one Struffaldus and one "Juncta quondam Guidotti pict.," and another of 1229 in which the same name appears, but the link which should confirm the identity of the party to the contract with Giunta is wanting. In the last-named document Guidottus is called "de Colle," upon which Morrona jumps at the conclusion that Giunta is of the noble family *dal* Colle. A more satisfactory record is that which preserves the name of "Juncta Capitenus pictor" as having sworn fealty in 1255 to the Archbishop Federigo Visconti of Pisa. See MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, p. 116 and fol.

[3] From S. Crestina of Pisa (MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 142).

[4] The inscription ran as follows:—

FRATER . ELIAS . FIERI FECIT
JESU CHRISTE PIE
MISERERE PRECANTIS HELIE
GIUNTA PISANUS ME PINXIT A.D. 1236.
IND. 9.

See the passages quoted in MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 126 and fol.

Assisi about 1236 is confirmed by the existence of a crucifix in Santa Maria degli Angeli inscribed with his name.[1]

Though here the head of the Crucified Redeemer, as well as that of the Saviour in Glory above it, is almost gone, the execution closely resembles that of the crucifix of Santi Raineri e Leonardo at Pisa; whilst it also displays, with more distinctness than the latter, that of the crucifix of San Pierino. The usual busts of the Virgin and Evangelist on the horizontal limb likewise betray the style of Giunta; whilst two figures at the sides, which are in the manner of Niccola da Foligno, may be considered additions of a later period.

Time has almost obliterated the frescoes of the transepts and choir of the upper church of Assisi, assigned partly to Giunta and partly to Cimabue.[2] That the former was employed there is affirmed by Wadding and Angeli on the authority of conventual records,[3] and it is probable from the style of the work, which is that of a rude artist of the early part of the thirteenth century; but by the side of these works there are others of early date and of no very high pretension, but in a different manner; and it may be possible and not unimportant to determine which are the older of the two, always bearing in mind that great part of what remains is mutilated and damaged as regards colour, whilst in general the contours exist where the plaster has not fallen or been removed.[4]

On the side wall of the right transept nearest to the nave the Crucifixion is represented in dimensions much above those of nature. Christ is made fast to the cross with four nails, the shape and its delineation being that of the darkest period of Italian art.[5] Angels in

[1] Inscribed:— . . . NTA PISANUS
ITI P. ME FECIT.

[2] The paintings of the choir are assigned by VASARI (i., p. 223) to Cimabue.

[3] See in MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 119.

[4] Compare RUMOHR (*Forschungen*, ii., p. 37), who thinks it impossible and unimportant to attempt to discover the masters who may have painted in the upper church of Assisi in the thirteenth century.

[5] In the pose of the figure this Christ strongly resembles that of Coppo di Marcovaldo in the sacristy of the canons at Pistoia. Nevertheless, it may be by Giunta Pisano. For the early schools of Pisa and Florence were closely connected, and Coppo may have tarried at Pisa on his way from Siena to Pistoia. Coppo, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Montaperti, was at Siena in 1261, and settled in Pistoia in 1264 or 1265.

violent action fly at the sides of the principal figure, three of them receiving the blood that drops from the hands and the lance wound. In front of the cross, to the left, there are remains of the upper part of the Virgin's frame as she swoons in the arms of the Marys. The large and overweighted head is disfigured by the usual staring eye and the curved nose. Other fragments represent the crowd, the soldier striking with his lance, the guard with the sponge on a reed, and part of the head and nimbus of a friar, who may be St. Francis. The mode in which the surface was originally treated is not quite clear; the remains are a brownish-yellow general flesh tint, patched with white in the light and black in the shaded parts. Little beyond the preparation of the vestment colours appears. The whole surface is dimmed by time, not excepting the edges of the nimbuses in relief. In the broad red outlines and angular draperies, coarsely traced in black, we observe the defects of one who, like Giunta, lived before the revival of art. Large flaws show that the painting was upon a single intonaco, and that the original design was sketched on the bare wall.

Along the arches of the gallery which divides the upper from the lower course of the edifice and serves as a practicable passage, medallions seem to have contained the forms of angels, and prophets to have adorned the walls of the gallery itself. In the lunette the Transfiguration is depicted, with Christ in a mandorla holding a book and Moses and Elias kneeling at his side, whilst three apostles are partially seen below. All this, where the design is preserved, reveals the same hand, which may be traced likewise in the three divisions of the end wall of the transept. Of these one is obliterated, whilst the two others represent in mere outline the crucifixion of St. Peter and Simon Magus carried away by the ministers of Satan. In the latter the vehement action common to the old style would alone suffice to prove that the painter preserved the forms and peculiarities of an art approaching extinction.[1] In the lunette above the window are the figures of the angel and Virgin Annunciate. The east face of the transept is bare of all but fragmentary outlines of what seem to be the symbols of the Evangelists in the lunette, and scenes from the lives of the apostles beneath the gallery; but in the pentagonal choir there are still fragments of subjects. In the first side the artist evidently intended to delineate the Saviour and the Virgin on a common throne with angels singing about it, and on the colonnade of the gallery prophets; in the second, the death of the Virgin, of which that portion remains which depicts her carried

[1] See a print of the painting in D'AGINCOURT.

to heaven in an elliptical glory by angels; in the third, above a large throne, two half lengths of Popes Innocent III. and Gregory IX., separated from each other by a cross; in the fourth, the death of the Virgin, of which all that is visible is the infant form carried by the Saviour into heaven; in the fifth the Virgin, on her death-bed, receives the visit of the apostles with St. Peter at their head.

Next to this, in the transept, is a large field covered with three colossal figures of archangels, and in the lunette above St. Michael in the act of transfixing Lucifer, whilst the archangels expel the rebel angels from the realms of bliss.

In the end wall the three compartments contain Christ in Judgment in a glory of angels; the four allegorical figures of Death, Famine, Pestilence, and War sowing their seed from cornucopias upon earth; and the Lamb on the altar with the book, adored by the twenty-four elders.

Finally, in the wall of the left transept nearest the nave remnants of a second Crucifixion in the same form as that on the right, but with St. Francis in prayer at the foot of the cross.

In the lunettes of the choir are remnants of scenes from the Old Testament. Painting here generally is subordinate, as it was in the baptistery of Parma, to a general architectural arrangement, the arches, recesses, cornices, and columns being coloured to harmonise with the painted subjects.

The Saviour in Judgment in the left transept is characterised by paltry forms and a large head. A vast circular wig of hair, with a heavy forelock, overhangs a broad forehead and semi-circular eyebrows. The nose starts from a projecting triangular base, and is flattened at the end; and the face is terminated by a small pointed chin and beard. These are features more characteristic of Cimabue than of Giunta. The blue draperies, of which the red preparation alone remains, are less angular than those of the fainting Virgin in the opposite transept. The hands and feet are defective and broad. The angels blowing trumpets are of a heavy and rotund form, with short round noses and chins, and expanded cheeks. The whole is painted over verde, on which the shadows are superposed in red. Above the gallery are angels and saints, as in the colonnade of the right transept, where they are of a colossal character, but in a great measure obliterated. Taking the paintings of both transepts into comparison, it is

obvious that those of the right are worse and older in date than those on the left. Those of the choir, assigned by Vasari to Cimabue, it may be difficult to judge, but those of the left transept certainly make a nearer approach to the style of Cimabue than to that of Giunta.

It is not strange that Giunta, having lived and laboured about the time when St. Francis was canonised, should be associated in name with the saint's imaginary portrait in the sacristy of the great sanctuary. This work[1] does not differ much from that which might have been produced by successors of Giunta. It is painted with much body of yellowish colour, shadowed in dark tones, and outlined in black, and might date from the close of the thirteenth century. The pictures in the small compartments are composed of figures in the usual exaggerated manner of the period. The effigy of St. Francis was repeated a hundred times in this form in the convents of his order, and a sample much like that just described may be seen in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[2]

After Giunta's time art maintained itself at a low level, though it did not cease to be productive. Nor was Pisa solitary in this. A specimen of the feeblest kind, completed in 1271, may be found, in the shape of a crucifix, at San Bernardino of Perugia.[3] At Pistoia, in the antechamber of the chapter of the cathedral, is a crucifix with scenes of the Passion, like those at Santa Marta of Pisa.[4] Yet it cannot be said that the painter was a Pisan, since artists obviously existed at Pistoia as elsewhere, and the name of Manfredino d'Alberto is preserved as the author of frescoes, dated 1290, in the sacristy of San Procolo.

Manfredino was an itinerant artist. In 1292 we find him furnishing frescoes for San Michele of Genoa, and fragments of these wall paintings, saved from the wreck of the church which was recently demolished, are now to be seen in the Academy of Arts at Genoa. On one of the fragments Christ is at the table

[1] See *postea*, comparison between this and other portraits of St. Francis.

[2] Case No 19. The panel is much injured.

*[3] Inscribed: ANNO DOMINI MCCLXXI TEMP. GREGORII P. P. X. Now in the Pinacoteca at Perugia, Sala I., 26.

*[4] This crucifix was executed by Coppo di Marcovaldo in 1274 or 1275. It is now in the sacristy of the canons. ARCH. DEL COMUNE DI PISTOIA, Opera di San Jacopo, filza ccclxxiii., carte 9.

of the Pharisee with the Magdalen prostrate at his feet; another fragment represents the archangel Michael weighing souls in a balance. Beneath the first is the name of the painter.[1]

The difference between this master and Giunta is that the latter, in all his barbarisms, preserves a rugged power which looks imposing; whilst the former has none of the breadth of Giunta, and gives to his forms a poor development and strong, but not very correct, outline.

Another unpleasant example of crucifixes in this century is that of Sant' Eustorgio in Milan, probably by one Fra Gabrio of Cremona,[2] which combines every sort of defect apparent in works of this time.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century at Pisa, the names of painters become frequent in records. "Giucchus, pictor, filius Bindi Giucchi pictoris," appears in a chart of 1290–1300,[3] whilst in the works of the Duomo, several mosaists and painters are mentioned immediately previous to the arrival of Cimabue. Amongst these, the chief, no doubt, was Francesco, who in 1301, new style, held the office of master in chief of the mosaics of the great tribune, and who afterwards, with his assistant Lupo

[1] Genoa Academy. Inscription: MAGISTER MANFREDINUS PISTORIENSIS ME PINXIT 1292, IN MENSE MADII. The colours are dull from exposure, age, and ill-treatment.

[2] Consult MS. Chron. of the Dominican Galvano Fiamina at Milan, who assigns this crucifix to the year 1288 and to Fra Gabrio of Cremona.

[3] Bindus had painted in the cloisters of St. Catherine of Pisa. See *Mem. d'Illust. Pisa*, i., p. 258, by TEMPESTI, extr. in *Arch. Stor.*, vi., p. 495. The chart mentioned in text is No. 1110 of the *Archivio arcivescovile*. See BONAINI, *Notiz. Ined.*, p. 88.

* This document is to be found in the *Archivio della mensa arcivescovile* at Pisa. It has no date, but probably belongs to the early years of the fourteenth century. It is a deed of gift executed by the painter at the time of his marriage. There is reason to believe that the father of Bindus, who also was called Giucco, was also a painter (Arch. di Stato, Pisa, Perg. Coletti). Bindus was employed at the Duomo in 1317 (Arch. di Stato, Pisa, *Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo, libro d'entrata e uscita, ad annum*, c. 113). He died in the year 1347.

Just as Florentine writers antedated the lives of their early painters, and post-dated the lives of Roman and Sienese masters like Pietro Cavallini and Duccio, so the Pisans have persistently endeavoured to antedate the careers of painters like Giunta Pisano and Bindus. Bonaini speaks of Bindus as a painter of the Dugento, whereas all the documentary notices we have of him belong to the fourteenth century, and he did not die until that century had run well-nigh half its course.

and his son Vittorio, was the colleague of Cimabue in that work.[1] In subordinate employ were Gavoccius,[2] Barile, Cagnassus, Parduccius, Povagansa and Turetto,[3] Tanus, and Ghele di Santa Margarita.[4] Contemporary with these, but not regularly employed in the Duomo, though equally unknown by their works, are Vanni of Siena, supposed to be the father of a line of painters,[5] Bordone di Buoncristiano, his son Colino,[6] Vivaldo and Paganello,[7] all living at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Yet of pictures, as old as the thirteenth century, Pisa possesses few; and these are by no means productions of merit. The oldest that can be pointed out is a Virgin and Child, assigned to Cimabue, in the Academy of Pisa,[8] with St. Martin on horseback on the pediment, and incidents of the life of the Saviour at each side. This picture recalls Cimabue in the action of the ugly infant Saviour, whilst the Virgin's depressed nose and black

[1] Uguccio Grugni and Jacobus Murci were then superintendents of the Duomo. Francesco's daily pay was ten soldi, the same which Cimabue afterwards received. Vittorio works later (1302) for four soldi eight den. See BONAINI, who quotes the original records, and corrects Rosini's statement that Francesco was *capo macstro* after Cimabue (*Notiz. Ined.*, pp. 90–2).

* Tanfani-Centofanti quotes a document which shows that Lupo worked at the church of S. Caterina at Pisa in the year 1336. See *Notizie di Artisti*, Pisa, 1897, p. 341.

[2] As "puer" or "famulus" at eight den per diem (*ibid.*, p. 86).

[3] The four first seem mere labourers; the latter was a mosaist, and has been confounded probably with Fra Jacopo (di Torrita) by VASARI (i., p. 285).—*Ibid.*, p. 89.

[4] These two are painters (*ibid.*, p. 92).

[5] Vannes quondam Boni painted, in 1302, for nine lire, the hall of the Compagnia d'arme della Cervia Nera, and gilded a Virgin and Child above the portal of the Duomo (BONAINI, pp. 88, 89).

* Tanfani-Centofanti holds that the Vanni del fu Bono who painted in the hall of the Compagnia della Cervia Nera and Vanni da Siena who painted the Madonna above the door of Pisa Cathedral were two distinct persons. A Vanni of Florence, perhaps the first of these two, assisted Cimabue in making the *Majestas* of the Duomo of Pisa. Yet another painter of the same name lived in Pisa in the first decade of the fourteenth century. See TANFANI-CENTOFANTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 488, 489.

[6] The first is known as a painter of banners, the second had more extensive employment (*ibid.*, p. 90).

[7] The latter alive 1304, the former dead in the same year (*ibid.*, p. 94).

* [8] There is no evidence to show that Cimabue worked in Pisa before the year 1301. The only picture that he is known to have executed in Pisa, a Madonna which he painted for the church of S. Chiara, has disappeared.

outlines point to one continuing the style of Giunta. Another picture in five arched compartments in the same academy, representing half lengths of the Saviour in benediction between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist, St. Sylvester, and St. Catherine, has been assigned to Giunta,[1] but displays the defects common to the beginning of the fourteenth century, combined with that lighter style of colouring which may already be noticed in the work of Deodato Orlandi. Nor, indeed, is there much difference, in the mode of drawing the sharp features and ugly hands of the Redeemer, between this and the third-rate productions of the painters of Lucca.[2]

Pisa, therefore, though great for its school of sculpture, was feeble as regards painting in the thirteenth century. Her artists produced, besides crucifixes, vast works, such as those of San Pietro in Grado and Assisi, but they displayed no peculiarities which can be called exclusively Pisan. They betrayed on the contrary a character common to artists of Parma or Capua, or even of Rome. The list might be swelled by the productions of those early workmen, who in 1237 depicted a hunt, of which some vestiges still exist, in the palace of the Podestà at San Gimignano.

Art was feebly practised in the thirteenth century at Siena, as it had been at Pisa or Lucca.[3] A fresco of Christ in benediction in a lunette on the front of the church of San Bartolommeo, one of the earliest examples of Sienese painting that remains to us, may be taken as proving how low, yet how equal, the level of artistic power was at that time. A Virgin and Child—half carved, half painted—in the oratory of Sant' Ansano in Castel Vecchio[4] shows no better than the fresco, and can only have interest for such of the painter's countrymen as consider it a venerable relic, executed in commemoration of the battle of Monte Aperto in 1260. The Madonnas of Tressa, of the Carmine, and of Betlem, of which local annalists speak with pride, must

[1] MORRONA, *Pisa Illust.*, ii., p. 142. This picture was, in Morrona's time, in the church of S. Silvestro of Pisa.

[2] The tones of the draperies in this picture are light, gay, and shot with gold.

*[3] Recent research has shown that in the last thirty years of the thirteenth century, if not at an earlier date, the school of Siena was in advance of all other schools except that of Rome.

*[4] This picture is now in the Opera del Duomo. There are no grounds for supposing that it was executed in commemoration of Montaperti.

be classed amongst works which disarm criticism by their bad condition, whilst other pictures of the early part of the thirteenth century only confirm the belief that Sienese art shared a general degeneracy. The custom of combining the plastic and pictorial methods was maintained; and altarpieces are preserved which demonstrate the poverty of that species of production. Without multiplying examples it may be sufficient to notice a votive piece in the Academy of Siena, in which the Saviour in benediction, in an elliptical glory between two angels and the symbols of the Evangelists, is represented in a carved and tinted relief. Three stripes at the sides of the principal figure contain six Passion subjects in flat painting. The date of 1215 on the upper framing tells us that at this period coloured sculpture and painted episodes were both to be classed as worthless.[1]

In later pictures of the same collection, in which relief was not used, equal feebleness may be traced, as in the Saviour blessing and holding the book between the Virgin and Evangelist;[2] in St. John the Baptist Enthroned, wearing a diadem embossed with glass stones, and in the six scenes from his life;[3] in St. Peter Enthroned, with

[1] Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena, Sala Prima, No. 1, inscribed: ANNO DŇI MILLESIMO CCXV. MENSE NOVEMBRI HEC TABULA FACTA EST.

[2] No. 3, Siena Gallery.

[3] Siena Gallery, Sala Prima, No. 14.

* The picture of St. Peter Enthroned holds a somewhat important place in the history of art. It is not a Byzantine picture, as it has sometimes been called, although it was painted by a master who was artistically a direct descendant of the miniaturists of the second golden age of Byzantine art. In the architecture of its backgrounds we see fully developed Gothic forms fantastically mingled with less prominent Byzantine features. It is not of as early a date as has sometimes been assigned to it. I believe it to have been painted by some immediate predecessor of Duccio about the year 1265. There are three things to be specially noted in this picture. First of all, there is the wooden throne. It is of oriental origin, and the side supports are of a pattern which is still in use in the East. This throne is the parent of the throne of the Rucellai Madonna, and of the throne in another of Duccio's works, the little Madonna and Child (No. 20) in the Siena Gallery. Like its descendants, it is seen a little from the side; several of its details, too, are repeated in the later wooden thrones. Note especially the ornamentation of the framework of the back, and the finials of the supports both of front and back. These features we meet with again, with but little alteration, in Duccio's two works. The leaf ornament, too, on the footstool of the throne in the Rucellai Madonna is a repetition of the ornament on the side panels of St. Peter's throne. The head of the saint, too, is a distinctly Sienese edition of the early traditional representation of

three incidents of his legend in small panels on each side,[1] and finally in a crucifix from Santa Chiara of San Gimignano, in which the Saviour is presented in the old attitude, with the usual scenes of the Passion at his sides.[2] Yet if Sienese painters failed to give an impulse to art, the cause was not want of encouragement or of rivalry. The early school of Siena in the thirteenth century is richer in names than the Florentine. The building of its cathedral was commenced and diligently pursued. Mosaics were commissioned for it.[3] Pictures, commemorative and votive, were ordered for churches and public edifices. Justice and law owed some of their efficacy to artists who painted the likenesses of criminals, pilloried in effigy on the great square of the city. Banners and flags were adorned,[4] and even the

St. Peter. It is closely connected with the later representation of St. Peter in the Madonna and Child with Saints (No. 23) in the same room in the same gallery.

It is assuming too much to conclude that the painter of the St. Peter Enthroned was one of the masters of Duccio. But it is clear, I think, that the younger artist borrowed some things from the older and much inferior master.

[1] Siena Gallery, Sala Prima, No. 15. The same general features are to be seen in other pictures of the same collection.

[2] No. 11, Siena Gallery. [3] MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, i., pp. 103–4.

[4] Painters of banners, in 1262, are Piero, Bonamicus, and Parabuoi. See RUMOHR, *u.s.*, ii., p. 23.

* The following is a list of the names of painters of the thirteenth century to be found in the Sienese archives and in inscriptions on pictures, compiled by the Cav. A. Lisini, with two subsequent additions made by the editors :—

(1) Rolando, abate di S. Salvadore del Montamiata, 1187–1212; (2) "Guido de Senis," 1221; (3) Bartolomeo, 1231–1257; (4) Napoleone, 1236; (5) Bartolo, 1237; (6) Aldighieri, 1245; (7) Jacomo di Giraldo, 1240 (?) to 1250; (8) Accursio, not. e miniatore, 1248; (9) Gilio, 1249–1261; (10) Bruno, 1250; (11) Ildobrandino, pittore e miniatore, 1252; (12) Parabuoi, 1254–1256; (13) Giovanni, 1257; (14) Piero, 1262; (15) Buonamico, 1262; (16) Dietisalvi di Speme, 1261–1291; (17) Ventura di Gualtieri, 1264–1270; (18) Picciolino, 1273; (19) Guido di Piero, 1278; (20) Rinaldo, 1276–1279; (21) Duccio di Buoninsegna, 1278–1313; (22) Giovanni di Bindo, miniatore, 1278–1299; (23) Lapo di Michele, 1280; (24) Bindo (1284); (25) Guarnieri; (26) Meo di Graziano, 1284–1297; (27) Guido di Graziano, 1278–1302; (28) Vigoroso, 1276–1287; (29) Conte di Ristoro, 1276–1288; (30) Ghezzo, 1288; (31) Pinagio, 1289; (32) Guccio, 1289; (33) Mino di Graziano, 1289–1323; (34) Fazio di Dietisalvi, 1289; (35) Jacomo di Conosciuto, 1289–1294; (36) Angelo di Conosciuto, 1289–1294; (37) Massarello, 1290–1339; (38) Memmo Bernardini, 1290–1291; (39) Masaruccio, 1291; (40) Giovanni di Guido, miniatore, 1291–1296; (41) Guarniere di Saracino, 1292; (42) Pietruccio o Pietro di Dietisalvi, 1292–1302; (43) Crecio, 1293; (44) Jacomo, 1293–1294; (45) Sozzo di Stefano, miniatore, 1293; (46) Rinforzato, 1293; (47) Minuccio di Filippuccio, 1294–1298; (48) Memmo di

registers of public offices were covered with portraits of the officials who kept them, or with their arms. The contracts for these paintings unfortunately, in most instances, outlived the works themselves; but some specimens have been preserved which connect pictures with certain names, and these it is of some interest to follow. One Dietisalvi appears to have had a monopoly of official work from 1264 to 1276.[1] Four book covers, with portraits of clerks, are preserved in the Academy of Arts.[2] The first is by Maestro Gilio, and represents a monk of St. Galgano in a white dress, seated in profile on a chair. It is dated 1257. Two others by Dietisalvi, of 1264 and 1269, are portraits of Aldobrandino Pagliarese; the fourth, of 1276, also by Dietisalvi,[3] is a

Filippuccio, 1294–1326; (49) Lorino, 1294; (50) Luccio Rinfredi, 1296; (51) Sandro di Guido, miniatore, 1296; (52) Vanni Boni, 1298; (53) Segna di Buonaventura detto Tura di Buoninsegna, 1298–1326; (54) Bindo di Viva, miniatore, 1300.

[1] Dietisalvi Petroni appears in records as painter of the arms of the Camarlingo in 1267–70, at a daily salary of ten soldi. Again in 1281–2 and 1290. See RUMOHR, *u.s.*, ii., p. 25, and DELLA VALLE, *Lettere Sanesi*, i., p. 241.

* Dietisalvi was in no way connected with the house of Petroni. Milanesi also errs in speaking of him as Dietisalvi Petroni. In a document in the Siena archives we read: "Dietisalvi pictoris olim Speme" (Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Pergamene spettante alla Casa di Sapienza, ad annum, gennaio* 18). The allusions to this artist to be found in manuscripts in the Siena archives relate to a period of thirty years, 1261–1291. He was the head of a large school of artists. We read of a Fazio di Dietisalvi, and a Petruccio or Piero di Dietisalvi, and we know that commissions for all kinds of painted decorations were executed in this master's *bottega*. Lisini holds that Duccio himself was a pupil of Dietisalvi (*Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria, Notizie di Duccio pittore*, 1898, fasc. i., p. 41).

Dietisalvi painted several of the *tavolette* of the Biccherna at this period. In addition to those mentioned, we find notices in the Sienese archives of payments made to him for painting book covers in the years 1281–1284:—"1281–82 gennaio 22. *Item viij sol. den. die dicto*, Dietisalvi *pictore librorum Camerari et iiij, presentia rec.*" (Biccherna, Libri d'entrata e uscita ad annum c. 98t). "1282 da luglio. *Item viiij sol* Dietisalvi *pictore depinxit libros*" (Bicch. c. s., c. 84t). "1283–84 da gennaio. *Item viiij sol.* Dietisalvi *pictori quia depinxit libros camerarij et iiij*" (Bicch. c. s., c. 129t). "1284 da luglia. *Item viiij sol. den.* Dietisalvi *dipentori, dipentura librorum Camerari et iiij*or" (Bicch. c. s., c. 128t).

* [2] All of these book-covers that remain in Siena are now kept at the Archivio di Stato. Dietisalvi painted three *tavolette di Biccherna*. The first, of the year 1264, is a portrait of Ildebrandino Pagliaresi, Camarlingo of the Biccherna. The second, of the year 1267, bears the coats-of-arms of the four overseers of the Biccherna. The third, of the year 1270, bears a portrait of Ranieri Pagliaresi, Camarlingo of the Biccherna.

* [3] There is no evidence to show that the tavoletta of the year 1276 was painted by Dietisalvi. The personage represented is Don Bartolommeo, monk of San Galgano, Camarlingo of the Biccherna.

likeness of Jacobo di Rodilla. These four figures, interesting on account of their age and authenticity, are painted in tempera of much impasto on verde, shadowed in black, and tinged on the lips and cheek with dark red. They reveal no sensible progress in the craftsmen of the time.[1] Vigoroso, too, is a painter of the thirteenth century, of whom we still possess an example at present exhibited in the gallery of Perugia. The subjects are the Virgin with the infant Christ in her arms, in a central panel; at the sides, the Baptist and Magdalen, and St. John the Evangelist and St. Julian. In pinnacles, Christ giving his blessing, and four angels. On the lower border of the central panel is the name and the date of 1280. Though but a feeble production of traditional Sienese shape, the altarpiece would be more interesting were it less dark and less injured by age. Vigoroso is not unknown to antiquarian research. His name is in records of 1291 and 1292, which connect him with the decoration of Sienese municipal ledgers, long before it was known that one of his altarpieces was in existence.[2]

Typical art at Siena begins, for the historian, with the works of Guido, which deserve all the more to be studied because a literary tourney has been held in respect of his labours and the chief incidents of his life.[3]

[1] A series of examples of this kind, originally in the collection of Mr. Ramboux at Cologne, has been dispersed to the galleries of Cologne, Dusseldorf, and Buda-Pesth. The series extended from the earliest times of Sienese art to 1492. In it we remark a portrait by Dietisalvi of Don Bartolommeo, paid at the rate of eight soldi, date 1278, now in the museum at Pesth; a similar portrait of Guido, a monk, by Rinaldo, date 1279 (at Pesth); a portrait dated 1282, assigned to Duccio on the strength of a record of the time (at Pesth); a tavoletta of the year 1296, at Pesth; finally, a figure of the "Reggimento" of Siena, with persons around holding attributes, such as may be noticed later (date 1363).

* I can find no record of a tavoletta painted by Duccio in 1283. The earliest payment made to him for painting one of the book-covers of the Biccherna is of the year 1285. Five of the *tavolette* of the Biccherna of Siena which were in the Ramboux Collection are now in the Königliches Kunstgewerke Museum at Berlin. Two of these little pictures, those of the years 1367 and 1437, are of considerable importance. We shall refer again to them in this work.

[2] Perugia Gallery, Sala I., 32. The inscription runs thus: VIGOROSO DES SIENA, MCCLXXX, and consult RUMOHR, *Forsch., u.s.*, ii., pp. 24, 25.

[3] We omit here a Madonna once assigned to Dietisalvi in the convent church of the Servi at Siena, but which was painted in the year 1261 by Coppo di Marcovaldo, a Florentine; and a St. George of the fifteenth century in the sacristy of San Cristoforo at Siena, engraved by Rosini as the work of Salvanello, but probably by Giovanni di Paolo.

The earliest picture connected with Guido is a half-length Madonna in the gallery of Siena.[1]

The Virgin, of tall stature, sits on a large seat and points with her right hand to the Infant on her knee, who gives the benediction, and grasps a scroll in his left hand. Her round head, a little bent, and supported on a slender neck, is disfigured by the clumsiness of its nose, which starts from a projecting angular root, terminating in a broad depression. The arched lines of the brow are but the continuation of a long curved lid extending towards the temple far beyond the outer corner of the eye. The canthus, instead of forming a loop as in nature, is drawn at a drooping angle. The iris is an ellipse, and conveys an unnatural expression of ecstasy. The mouth is indicated by dark strokes, and by two black points at the corners. Outlines, red in light, black in shadow, bound the form, which is mapped out in flat tones of enamelled surface with little effort of blending. The hands are thin and inarticulate. The mantle, falling over a close cap to the shoulders, and partly covering a red tunic, shot with gold, is lined with mazes of angular and meaningless strokes. The nimbus is full of glass stones. The same features, design, and draperies mark the infant Saviour, whose ears are of an enormous size.

This painting, if it be by Guido, would prove that he lived at the close of the thirteenth century, and the minute description which has just been given is necessary to elucidate a question which has long engrossed critical attention, and involves the rival claims of Siena and Florence, to the title of regenerator of Italian art.

Guido is unknown beyond the walls of Siena. He remained a stranger to Vasari, and his existence is certified by an altarpiece bearing his name and the date of 1221, a work which was once in San Domenico, but is now in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. The state of the picture and the fashion of the signature[2] both reveal a series of manipulations which excites suspicion. The date is too early for the painting. The painting exhibits a curious variety of handling in several of its parts.

The subject is the Virgin Mary, of more than life size, seated on a

[1] No. 16, Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena. Two angels in flight are in the spandrels of the arch circumscribing the upper sides of the picture.

* [2] It appears to us that the inscription is the most genuine part of the picture.

cushion in an armchair decorated with mosaic patterns. Her head is wrapped in a white cloth which falls in drapery on the shoulders; a high-waisted red tunic is partly seen beneath a large blue cloak; and both are shot with gold. Her left arm and hand supports the infant Saviour, who gives the blessing as he sits on her lap, and she points with taper fingers to his face as he looks up at her. A clover-patterned arch, above the niche of the throne, is filled in the spandrels by six figures of winged angels in prayer. In a triangular pediment which belongs to the altarpiece, but hangs apart in the transept of San Domenico, the space is filled with a half length of the Redeemer in benediction between two angels.[1]

The treatment of this picture reveals a Sienese artist of the close of the thirteenth century, who painted all but the head and neck of the Virgin,[2] and the flesh parts of the infant Saviour. These are handled in the manner of the Sienese school of Duccio, Ugolino, or Simone. The variety lies in the spirit, as well as in the technical execution, which not only gives more regularity and nature to the features, but a better and softer run to the outlines. Another advantage displayed in these heads is the comparative lightness and blending, and the pleasanter tinge and transparence of the colour. The glaze of the old style has disappeared, and with it sombre tones and black contours. It has

[1] The tempera of this altarpiece is injured by retouching in oil, and a long split runs vertically down the right side of the Virgin. On a strip beneath the throne we read in one line:—

ME GUIDO DE SENIS DIEBUS DEPINXIT AMENIS QUEM XPS LENIS NULLIS VELIT AGERE PENIS: ANO DⁱMºCC XX I.

GAETANO MILANESI, in *Della Vera Età di Guido* (8vo., Siena, 1859), p. 7, affirms that there is room between MCC and XX for an L, also room for letters between XX and I. He therefore thinks, and we agree with him to some extent, that the painter is Guido Gratiani, a Sienese of the close of the thirteenth century. The pinnacle was in its place when RUMOHR wrote (see *Forschungen*, i., p. 335). The whole altarpiece, according to Tizio, was on the altar of the Chapel de' Capaci to the left on entering the church of San Domenico, and had been previously in S. Gregorio. It was originally a triptych, and Tizio says that the wings hung apart from the centre on the walls of San Domenico.

* It is quite a common thing to find a space between the hundreds and the tens and another space between the tens and the units in early painted inscriptions of this kind. There is nothing to show that this inscription has been tampered with. We have examined it carefully, and do not think that it affords any support to Milanesi's theory in regard to it.

* [2] It seems to us that the whole picture has been repainted.

Alinari, pho.

MADONNA AND CHILD
BY GUIDO DA SIENA
From an altarpiece, now in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

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been urged that work like this entitles Guido to a place in art above Cimabue. But the old parts of the picture are below the level of Cimabue, the new parts are above that level. The date is apocryphal, having been retouched after some of its letters had been obliterated. We may take it that the altarpiece in its original state was painted by Guido of Siena, between 1270 and 1280, and restored by a later artist of the Sienese school of the fourteenth century.[1]

A patient search has failed to bring any records to light proving the existence of an artist called Guido in the earlier years of the thirteenth century.[2] The name of Guido Gratiani[3] is entered in municipal accounts as the painter of a banner in 1278.[4] He superseded Dietisalvi in 1287, 1290, 1298, as limner of the books of the Biccherna.[5] He completed in 1295 a "Majesty between St. Peter and St. Paul" in the public palace of Siena. In 1302 he pilloried twelve forgers in portrait on the front of the tribunal of Justice.[6] He was one of three sons of Gratiano, and lived in

[1] That artists of the fourteenth century did not disdain to repaint pictures of earlier masters is proved by a record of the year 1335, in which Ambrogio Lorenzetti contracts to renew "the face, hands, and book of the Virgin of the Duomo" (MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, i., p. 195). Of several angels in the pediment, one to the right is repainted.

*[2] The diligent researches of successive generations of archivists at Siena have brought to light the names of only two painters who were active in Siena before the year 1235. But this does not prove that there were not several artists in the city. In fact such evidence as we have points the other way. The fact is that the existing documents relating to the social and artistic life of the Sienese before the year 1235 are comparatively few. There may have been two or three artists of the name of Guido living in Siena in that period. We know nothing of the painters of the best Sienese pictures of the age before Duccio. We do not know the name of the architect of the Duomo or of the sculptors who worked in Siena before the coming of Niccola Pisano. In Milanesi's own large collection of documents relating to Sienese art, the earliest document is of the year 1259.

*[3] We know that there was at least one other artist of the name of Guido working in Siena in the thirteenth century. There may have been several of that name. There is nothing to show that Guido di Gratiano is identical with the Guido who painted the Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico.

[4] MILANESI, *Della Vera Età*, etc., p. 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, and RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii. p. 24.

[6] In the late Ramboux collection at Cologne, under No. 24, there was a Nativity of the thirteenth century, the execution of which recalls that of the angels in the altarpiece of San Domenico by Guido. The composition is repeated by Duccio in the great altarpiece of the Duomo.

the parish of San Donato ai Montanini. He brought up to his profession a son named Bartolommeo, or Meo,[1] who afterwards (1319) worked in Perugia. Guido's brothers, Mino and Guarnieri or Neri, were artists also.[2] If we concede any value to the inscription on the altarpiece of Guido in San Domenico, we must suppose that the painter is Guido Gratiani, and that his work is later than 1221, and dates from the close of the century.[3]

* [1] There is an *ancona* by Meo in the Perugia Gallery (Sala I., i.). The picture attributed to him at Città di Castello is by Segna.

[2] The former, in 1289, painted a Virgin and Saints for the hall of the great council in the old Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. He worked in another part of the same edifice in 1293, and in 1298 produced the portraits of several false witnesses. In 1303 he designed a St. Christopher in the Palazzo, and, 1329, disappears from the public records. Of Guarnieri nothing is known but that he left behind him three sons, Giacomuccio or Muccio, Ugolino, and Guido, who in 1321 matriculated as a painter in the company of surgeons and grocers of Florence. See G. MILANESI, *Della Vera Età*, etc., p. 9.

* [3] It cannot be too strongly asserted that the *onus probandi* of a theory like this of Milanesi rests with its promulgators. Style-criticism can tell us little or nothing as to the date of the picture, as it has been repainted. We can glean nothing from documents. The inscription is the only evidence we have. It is for those who agree with Milanesi to demonstrate that the inscription has been tampered with. Milanesi himself certainly did not prove his case, as we have shown in previous notes. The Cav. A. Lisini, however, has brought forward an argument somewhat weightier than any of those advanced by the learned editor of Vasari. He has found a picture in the Siena Gallery which bears an inscription similar to that on the Madonna of Guido. The inscription, or rather what remains of it, runs as follows :—

. . . ✠ . . . AMENIS QVEM XPS LENIS NVLLIS VELIT ANGERE PENIS
ANNO MILLESIMO DVCENTESIMO SEPTVAGESIMO.

This inscription does not differ from that of the Madonna of Guido da Siena, except that in the latter the word ANGERE is written AGERE.

Lisini argues (*a*) that the two pictures are by the same artist, by Guido; (*b*) that it is impossible that he could have painted the two pictures "at a distance of time of nearly fifty years"; (*c*) that the Madonna of the Palazzo Pubblico must have been painted after the Madonna in the Gallery, because it is a better picture.

Admitting for the sake of argument that the two pictures are by the same artist, it is not incredible that the one was painted in 1221 and the other in 1270. It is quite possible that Guido had as long an artistic career as that of Titian, or Watts, or even Père Corot. It is easy to mention a score of distinguished painters of the nineteenth century whose period of work extended over more than half a century. The Madonna of the Siena Gallery, it is true, is painted in a harder, more conventional style than the Madonna of the Palazzo Pubblico; but the graces and modernities—such as they are—of the more famous picture owe their origin, no doubt, to a later hand. For the faces and figures of the altarpiece of 1221 have, as we have said, been entirely repainted.

Siena can thus lay claim to no superiority in art during the thirteenth century. Niccola and Giovanni Pisano furnished the chief ornaments of her cathedral; and under the guidance of these and other strangers, the school of which Agnolo and Agostino were afterwards the ornaments, arose in 1300. The Sienese rivalled the Florentines after the time of Cimabue. Duccio, Ugolino, Simone, and Lorenzetti are entitled to well-deserved admiration, but their influence remained second to that of Cimabue and Giotto.[1]

Painting may be said to have followed much the same course at Arezzo as at Lucca, Pisa, and Siena. Crucifixes, portraits of St. Francis, and a few Madonnas were the staple of its production, and these were of a more decidedly repulsive character than the works of other Italian cities. A small crucifix, of the close of the twelfth century, at Santa Maria della Pieve, in which the Saviour is represented erect and open-eyed; another, of the same character and date, in the chapel del Sacramento, contiguous to the Collegiata of Castiglione Aretino; and a third, colossal, of a later period, in San Domenico of Arezzo, in which the feet of the Saviour are still separate, but the body is in a state of contortion—mark the progress of the same decline at Arezzo as elsewhere.[2]

Margaritone inherited and continued this degenerate style. He stood in the same relation to Arezzo as Giunta to Pisa, and would never have emerged from obscurity had not Vasari been moved by a laudable desire to rescue the art of his native city

But because the Madonna of 1270 bears a similar inscription to the picture in the Palazzo Pubblico, it does not follow that the two pictures are by the same painter. When art was so much of a handicraft as it was in the age before Duccio, when pupils were accustomed to copy patiently every detail of their master's pictures, when originality amongst painters was rare, and imitativeness a virtue, it is not at all inconceivable that an artist copied an inscription on an earlier altar-piece, an altarpiece painted perhaps by his master, or even by his own father.

We hold then that not only has it not been demonstrated that the date of the Madonna of the Palazzo Pubblico has been tampered with, but that no strong presumption has been established in favour of such a theory.

* [1] Of Tuscan masters whose pictures can be identified, Duccio was the greatest artist in the years preceding the rise of Giotto. The great Sienese master was employed by the State as early as 1278. The writers have followed Vasari in placing Duccio's period of activity "after the time of Cimabue"; but documents show that Vasari was wrong.

* [2] This crucifix has much the character of those of Margaritone. The yellowish lights are painted over a gentle tone of verde.

from oblivion. Margaritone was born early in the thirteenth century, and certainly was in his manhood in 1262.[1] He is said to have laboriously finished frescoes in San Clemente of the Camaldoles of Arezzo; but they perished in 1547, and are certainly not to be regretted, if they resembled other productions from the same hand, of which we shall presently make a list, in order that those who should prefer to ignore pictures like playing-cards may know where and how to avoid them.

London, National Gallery: The Virgin and Child and eight small pictures of (1) The Nativity; (2) St. John the Evangelist liberated from the Cauldron of Oil; (3) St. John raising Drusiana; (4) St. Benedict in the Thorns; (5) The Martyrdom and Burial of St. Catherine; (6) St. Nicholas exhorting the Sailors to throw away the Cup given to them by Satan; (7) St. Nicholas rescuing the Condemned; (8) St. Margaret and the Dragon—inscribed: MARGARITUS DE ARITIO ME FECIT—2 feet 9 inches high by 5 feet 9 inches wide, gold ground. San Niccola, later in the Lombardi and Ugo Baldi collection at Florence: St. Nicholas in Cathedra, and four episodes of his life.

Arezzo, Museum, Room 1.—A Virgin and Child from San Francesco, where it was seen by Vasari, dark in tone, ill drawn, and incorrect in movement. In addition to this Madonna, there are two other works in the same room attributed to Margaritone—a St. Francis, a signed work, and a crucifix.

Sargiano, Convent of the Cappuccini.—St. Francis, facing the spectator in frock and cowl, one hand raised, the other holding a book, the stigmata on the hands and feet, which are models of bad drawing. We note the brown flesh tints, with the light put in with white hatchings, the shadows of a viscous olive-brown, the cheeks and lips rouged. Inscribed: . . . RGARIT. DE ARITIO PINGEBAT.

Castiglione Aretino, San Francesco.—St. Francis, with cross and book, and a cowl over his head. Inscribed: MARGARIT . . . DE ARITIO ME FECIT.

Siena, Galleria di Belle Arti, No. 18.—St. Francis. Of stunted stature and staring eyes. Inscribed like the foregoing.

Rome, Vatican, Museo Cristiano.—St. Francis. Inscribed: . . . DE . . . O ME FECIT.[2]

[1] A legal instrument made in 1262, *in claustro Micaelis* (of Arezzo) *coram Margarito pictore filio quondam Magnani*, records his origin (Annot. to VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 359).

*[2] Other representations of St. Francis attributed to Margaritone were formerly to be found at S. Caterina at Pisa and at the Convent of the Cappuccini, near Sinigaglia.

London, formerly in the collection of the late Ralph Wornum, Esq.—Virgin and Child, enthroned between St. Bruno, St. Benedict, and two Cistercian monks. Fairly preserved. Inscribed: MARGARIT . . . RITIO ME FECIT.

Monte San Savino, Chiesa delle Vertighe.—Virgin and Child, with the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Assumption. Inscribed: MARGARITUS AR .... MCC ... XIII. In a predella, six figures.

Florence, Santa Croce.—St. Francis, with twenty episodes of the saint's life in small framings, all on gold ground. Above these, and between two angels, a table of the genealogy of the Order, erroneously assigned by VASARI (ed. Sansoni, i., p. 249) to Cimabue.

Pistoia, San Francesco, in the Bracciolini Chapel.—St. Francis, with sixteen episodes of the saint's life, falsely assigned to Lippo Memmi.

Ganghereto by Terranova di Valdarno, San Francesco.—A St. Francis.

If the inscription of the altarpiece of Monte San Savino could be restored, so as to give the date of 1294, and if we should accept Vasari's statement that Margaritone died at the age of seventy-seven, we might assume that the artist was born about 1216.[1] His death before 1299 appears all the more probable because his name is not in the burgess roll of Arezzo in that year.[2]

Margaritone prided himself on the value of his works, and it is said that, as a token of gratitude for the spirit with which Farinata degli Uberti saved his country from ruin, he presented to the great Florentine a colossal crucifix. Farinata, it would seem, eagerly disposed of this treasure, which Vasari saw in Santa Croce. But the crucifix which is now shown as Margaritone's, in an antechamber near the chapel of the novitiate of that church, displays the manner of a second-rate painter of the fourteenth century, and not the style of Margaritone, which is more certainly observed in a crucifix, much damaged and darkened by age, in a passage leading to the sacristy of San Francesco at Castiglione Aretino. Here each limb of the Saviour is separately made fast with a nail, the Magdalen grasps the foot of the cross, and the usual episodes make up the ornament of the fatal instrument.

Vasari vouches for another fact in respect of Margaritone, where he says that he executed the model of the Palazzo Comunale and the

[1] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 362. [2] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., 367.

façade of San Ciriaco, at Ancona, and the tomb of Gregory X. in the episcopal palace of Arezzo. The palace of Ancona underwent a total change three hundred years ago, and the church of San Ciriaco dates from the tenth century; but the portal of the latter edifice is filled with heads of apostles which display the rudeness peculiar to the thirteenth, albeit nothing characteristic of Margaritone. The monument of Gregory X.—in the cathedral, and not in the episcopal palace at Arezzo—is in the style of the pupils of Niccola Pisano, and there is no resemblance between this monument and the sculpture of the portal of San Ciriaco of Ancona.

Vasari, in the life of Arnolfo, notices Marchionne, who worked at Rome and elsewhere, and produced certain carved figures on the front of the cathedral of Arezzo, which rival in rudeness the paintings of Margaritone. Two names, not unlike in sound, may in this case have been confounded; but the mistake is difficult to pardon if we consider that the painter Margaritone and the sculptor Marchionne could not have existed at the same period.[1]

Whilst Margaritone and Marchionne thus stamp the art of Arezzo as inferior even to that of the cities in its vicinity, another painter, called Montano, did honour to the birthplace of Vasari.

A study of Neapolitan annals reveals the influence which the house of Naples wielded in Italy at the close of the thirteenth and rise of the fourteenth centuries, during the struggles of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Charles I. and II. and Robert the Wise played a conspicuous part in the politics of Florence. Niccolò, Arnolfo, and Giovanni are said to have been employed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the construction or enlargement of the castles which overawed Naples. Churches were built and endowed, and painting was required to complete the adornment of both. Numerous as were the mosaists and sculptors of South Italy in the twelfth and

[1] The inscription on the front of the cathedral of Arezzo, which can only refer to the sculpture, as the greater part of the front and church are of 1300, runs as follows: ANNI D. MCC. XVI. MŠ. MADII. MARCHIŌ SCULPSIT PB̄R MATH̄S MUNERA FULSIT Ī TP̄E. ARCHIPBI. Z." Vasari also gave to Marchionne the tomb of Honorius III. in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, which in his second edition he assigns to Arnolfo (VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 288).

thirteenth centuries, art was clearly not successfully pursued at Naples. The oldest painting of the close of the thirteenth century in that city is a fresco on gold ground above the door leading out of the court into the church of the monastery of San Lorenzo Maggiore.

The Virgin, a slender and small-eyed figure, holds the infant Saviour on her knees, and he, with not ungraceful motion, grasps a flower. The fingers of the hands are thin, but coarse at the extremities. A small figure kneels in prayer at the Virgin's feet.

Montano d'Arezzo had more talent probably than the author of this piece. He painted in 1305 two chapels of the Castel Nuovo,[1] and in 1306 two chapels of the Castel del Uovo.[2] He was much in favour with Philip of Tarentum, and on the death of that prince became the "familiar" of King Robert, who (1310) knighted him and gave him lands near Marigliano.[3] A chapel in the monastery of Monte Vergine, near Avellino, for which King Robert had a special reverence, was adorned with his painting, and he is, by tradition, the author of a Madonna at that shrine.[4]

[1] In the Register No. 1,305, letter G, folio 226, verso, of the Royal Sicilian Archives is the following: "*Magistro Montorio (? Montano) pictori pro pictura duarum capellarum Castri nostri Novi Neapolis et aliis necessariis ad pingendum capellas easdem, unciarum V. Datum Neapoli die 20 Augusti. Indict. III. an. 1305.*"—In *Lettere sulla Chiesa dell' Incoronata*, etc., by GIUSEPPE ANGELUCCI (8vo, Naples, 1846), p. 12.

[2] In the same records, Register folio. 228: "*Magistro Montano pictori pro pictura duarum capellarum Castri nostri Ovi unciarum VIII. Sub die ultimo Augusti. Indict III., an. 1306.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] In the same records, Register letter E, folio 27, a tergo, an. 1310: "Robertus rex," etc. "Servitiis quæ Magister Montanus de Aretio pictor familiaris noster nobis exhibuit et exhibere non cessat maxime in pingendo capellam nostram tam in domo nostro Neapolis quam in Ecc. B. Mariæ de Monte Virginis, ubi specialem devotionem habemus eidem Magistro Montano et ejus eredibus utriusque sexus et ejus tempore legitime descendentibus natis, jam et in postea nasciturís in perpetuum de'ea R. terra olim nemoris seu silva Laye quæ est in terra nostra comitatus Acerrarum, sita inter Maxilianum et Summam, quam silvam in toto trahi et extirpari," etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 15.

The manner in which the foregoing has been altered for an evident purpose may be seen in the following extract from *Privilegi imperiali, regi e baronali* (folio, Naples, ii.): "1310. Privilegio del Re Roberto con cui dona a Montanara d'Arezzo, pittore, una stanza di Maggia 100, site tra la Cerra e Marigliano per aver dipinto il busto del quadro di nos. Sign. de Montevergine e la cappella del D. Re in Napoli."

[4] The head of the image is said to have been brought home from the Crusades

The Virgin, enthroned, holds the Infant, who sits on her knee and grasps the dress at her bosom. Two small angels wave censers at the upper angles of the chair; six more are at the Virgin's feet. The smallness of the Infant and angels impairs the balance of the group. The Madonna is slender and not ungraceful. The head is of a regular outline, but, like that of the Infant and angels, cast in the old defective mould—a mixture of the manner of Cimabue and the Giottesques. The hands are long, and the slender figures are coarse at the extremities. The draperies, embroidered in gold at the edges, fall in comparatively easy folds, and are all shot with gilt threads. It is a work which may be classed betwixt those of Siena and Florence, graceful enough to remind us of the former without the breadth peculiar to the latter, but not so talented as to explain the high position of Montana at the Neapolitan court at a time when Giotto was already famous.[1]

A fabulous history of the head being a relic of the Crusades arose from a very natural desire to increase the reverence due to the shrine, but seemed confirmed by the fact that this part of the panel, being formed of a separate block, projected with its nimbus at an angle to the plane of the picture, a practice common in the schools of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. But besides the evident presence of the same hand in every part of the work, the projection is of the same wood as the rest of the panel. The record of Montano's knighthood in no wise supports the fable of a relic brought home from Constantinople, but merely states that the painter laboured at Monte Vergine in 1310. The picture seems to have been executed at that period, and may therefore be assigned to Montano, the more so as there are vestiges of painting of the same kind in one of the chapels of the church.

but this fable is based on a fictitious reading of old records and a diligent concealment of all but the features under an ornament and diadem of jewelled silver. Nor would it have been easy to form an idea as to the value of the picture, but for the circumstance that, not long since, the figure was laid bare for the sake of being copied, and it appeared that the whole altarpiece was the work of one hand, and that it corresponded in style to work of a painter living in the first years of the thirteenth century.

[1] It must be borne in mind that the picture has been rubbed down, so that in the heads of some angels the original drawing may be seen. The gold ground is gone, and the colour, now hard and raw, seems to have been thinly painted on a slightly primed panel. The shadows are still, however, warm in tone.

In Naples little remains that recalls the style of a painter of large practice except a half figure of a bishop in episcopals, in the act of benediction, in the boys' dormitory of the Seminario Urbano.

The figure is not without grandeur, and seems to be one of a series of three, the remainder of which have perished. Above the bishop stands St. Paul with the sword and book, of good features and somewhat Giottesque type. The contours are a little black, the colour rubbed down. Montano may possibly be the author.

Though Neapolitan historians have neglected Montano, they have singled out other artists for praise whose claims to attention are probably spurious.

The earliest of these dubious entities is Tommaso degli Stefani, of whom it is assumed that he was a contemporary of Cimabue and the painter of certain frescoes in the chapel of the Mimetoli in the Naples Cathedral. The subjects treated are scenes from the life of Christ, St. Peter rescued from prison, and his Crucifixion, the Decapitation of the Baptist, and the Death of Stephen. There are also portraits of members of the family of Mimetoli. No documentary evidence can be adduced in respect of these wall paintings. In their present state they only show traces of modern renewals, and it would be difficult to find any part of them that suggests work of the thirteenth century.

Philippo Tesauro, who is supposed to have lived at Naples in 1270, is described as the painter of a picture in the Naples Museum, which proves that if he ever existed, he must have practised in the fourteenth and not the thirteenth century. The subject is the Virgin and Child, between St. John and St. Andrew, adored by St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr, and St. Nicholas on their knees; the martyrdom of St. Nicholas being represented in a lunette.

An earlier artist is the imaginary Tesauro who is supposed to have been a contemporary of the Emperor Constantine, to whom the Neapolitans have assigned a mosaic of the Virgin and Child between S. Januarius and S. Restituta in the church of Santa Restituta. Judging of this work by its appearances, we should think it a Byzantine production of the first quarter of the

fourteenth century, as much on account of the dress as on account of the heavy crown on the Virgin's head and the archaic way of representing the Child in benediction holding the stem of a heavy cross in its left hand. It is strange that there should ever have been a doubt as to the origin of this mosaic, which is dated (? 1309 or 1322) and inscribed with the name of Lellus.[1]

The most famous name in Neapolitan pictorial annals is that of Simone Napoletano, who is not known to have had any real existence, yet to whom pictures of different periods and varying styles have been assigned. We shall find occasion to class under their several heads paintings attributed to Simone Napoletano, which are distinguishable either as works of known artists or of obscure disciples of the Giottesques. We shall class under the Neapolitan Giottesques the frescoes in the refectory and the figures painted round the mortuary monument of Robert of Sicily in Santa Chiara, and amongst the Umbro-Sienese of the fifteenth century a St. Anthony of Padua in San Lorenzo Maggiore.

St. Louis of Toulouse, in the same church, must be given to its true author, Simone Martini, of Siena. We shall assign the Trinity with saints, in the Mimetolo Chapel of the cathedral, to Andrea Vanni; the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour, above the monument of the Countess of Mileto, and the Virgin of the Rose in the Villani Chapel in San Domenico, to Francescuccio Ghissi.

[1] The inscription runs so :—

ANNIS DATUR CLEVUS INSTĀR PARTHENOPENSIS.
MILLE TRECENTENIS UNDENIS BISQUE RE . . . SIS,

and on one side: HOC OPUS FEC. LELLU. P. M. According as we read "retensis" or "recensis," we must take 1309 or 1322 as the year of Lellus' labours, be they original or merely restoration.

* Some authorities hold that it is a work of an earlier date than the fourteenth century, and was merely restored in 1322.

CHAPTER VI

GRADUAL RISE OF THE ART OF FLORENCE

IF the progress or the decline of painting could be traced by other evidence than that of pictures, we should be able to throw some light on the arts as they were practised even so far back as the eleventh century at Florence. Unfortunately, records of painters, without knowledge of their works, are comparatively uninteresting, and Florentine mosaics or painting of the eleventh or twelfth century are no longer preserved.[1]

Fra Jacopo, who decorated some parts of the baptistery of Florence in 1225, has been described by the historian Baldinucci[2] as a pupil of Tafi, to whom Vasari attributes the revival of the art of mosaics in the thirteenth century. But neither Vasari nor Baldinucci is to be trusted on this point, as may be shown more clearly hereafter; and Coppo di Marcovaldo must now be acknowledged as the earliest painter at Florence, whose extant work was executed before the first reformer amongst the Florentines had made for himself a name.[3]

Strange to say, Coppo di Marcovaldo is only known by an altarpiece in the church of the Servi at Siena, which once

[1] Records exist of Rustico, a painter at Florence in 1066, and Girolamo di Morello, a painter of Florence in 1112. Marchisello of Florence is noted as the painter of an altarpiece in 1191; and it is stated that this picture was on the high altar of San Tommaso of Florence in the days of Cosimo de' Medici the elder. Fidanza, of 1224, and Bartolommeo, of 1236, are also painters whose names are in published records. The same may be said of Lapo, of Florence, who laboured at Pistoia in 1250, and Fino, who painted in the public palace in 1292. Compare RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii., 28 and 191; GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., 423; CIAMPI, *u.s.*, p. 142; and VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., 264–5.

[2] BALDINUCCI, F., *Opere* (8vo, Milan, 1811), iv., p. 93.

* [3] Coppo di Marcovaldo was born in Florence about the year 1225. In 1260 he was present at the battle of Montaperti (PAOLI, *Il libro di Montaperti*, p. 25). In the following year he painted the altarpiece of the church of the Servi, the *Madonna del Bordone* (BUONDELMONTI, *Storia della chiesa dei Servi*, cod. of the

bore the date of 1261 and the signature of "Coppus di Florentia." There are written records which show that he painted frescoes in the chapel of San Jacopo, and a Madonna and a crucifix in the cathedral, of Pistoia, between 1265 and 1275.[1] But his picture plainly shows the depression from which Florentine art had not as yet recovered.

The subject represented is the Virgin on her throne, with the infant Christ on her lap, and two angels in the upper corners of the panel. Though exhibited at Siena, the picture displays Florentine weight and breadth in the development of the figures. The colours of the flesh are darkly embrowned; those of the draperies are without harmony; the surface is rough throughout; and there is no charm of distribution, attitude, features, dress, or ornament.[2]

Coppo is not much above the level of Margaritone. But he is not greatly below that of Tafi, of whom we shall presently observe that he was born almost at the same time as Cimabue, whom he survived nearly twenty years.

According to Vasari, Andrea Tafi was born in 1213, and learnt the practice of mosaics from Appollonius, a Greek, whom he had served as a journeyman at Venice. Leaving Venice for Florence,

seventeenth century, B. vii., 14, c. 9; BENVOGLIENTI, *Miscellanea*, MSS., C. iv., c. 151, 152). Perhaps at the time of painting the picture Coppo was a prisoner in Siena. In the year 1264 or in 1265 Coppo di Marcovaldo settled at Pistoia; and in the latter year he painted frescoes in the chapel of San Jacopo in that city (Arch. del Comune di Pistoia, *Opera di San Jacopo*, Filza i., carte 96[t]). In the year 1274 we find him still at Pistoia, when, with the co-operation of his son Salerno, he painted two crucifixes, a Madonna, a St. John, and a St. Michael for the church of S. Zeno, now the cathedral (Archivio del Comune di Pistoia, *Opera di San Jacopo*, filza ccclxxiii., carte 9). Of all these works in Pistoia only a crucifix remains. It was found by Signor Bacci in the *Sagrestia dei Canonici*. See BACCI, *Coppo di Marcovaldo e Salerno di Coppo*, in *L'Arte*, anno iii., 1900, fasc. i.–iv., pp. 32–40. A Madonna above the altar to the right of the choir in the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Florence has many of the characteristics of Coppo. Below the Madonna are two small scenes—an Annunciation, and the Three Marys at the Sepulchre.

[1] CIAMPI, *u.s.*, 86 and 143; TIGRI, *Guida di Pistoia*, 122, 138; TOLOMEI, p. 16. The frescoes in San Jacopo were removed to make room for others by Alessio d'Andrea and Bonaccorso di Cino in 1347, and the crucifix was dated 1275.

[2] Engraved in ROSINI under the name of Dietisalvi of Siena; but, according to the chronicle of the Servi, by Father Buondelmonte (cit. in VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., 266), and an anonymous description of Siena in the seventeenth century (*ibid.*), it is by Coppo di Marcovaldo, and formerly bore the inscription: M.CCLXI. COPPUS DE FLORENTIA PINXIT.

MADONNA AND CHILD *Lombardi, pho.*

BY COPPO DI MARCOVALDO

From an altarpiece in the Church of the Servi, Siena

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both artists were engaged to decorate the baptistery of Florence, and Appollonius not only taught his disciple how to burn mosaic stones, but how to fix them in stucco. During their joint labours the two men executed that part of the decoration of the cupola of the baptistery which comprises "the powers," "thrones," and "dominions"; after which Tafi, having improved in skill, completed without help the figure of Christ, which is fourteen feet in height. The whole of this decoration Vasari describes as meritorious, considering the period in which it was executed, and sufficient indeed to give Andrea Tafi repute, and cause him to be employed with Fra Jacopo of Florence, and Gaddo Gaddi at Pisa, but ridiculous in its display of feeble design and feebler execution.[1]

Vasari only suggests the date of Tafi's birth. He supposes that Tafi died, aged eighty-one, in 1294; but as we are now aware that the artist was still living in 1320, when he was borne on the list of painters affiliated to the guild of surgeon apothecaries at Florence, under the name of Andrea olim Ricchi, commonly called Tafi, he must have been born as late as 1240, and he may have been born later, and have been exactly contemporary with Cimabue. Under these circumstances Baldinucci's theory that Tafi was taught by Fra Jacopo of Florence falls to the ground, equally so Vasari's theory that the secret of baking and fixing mosaics had been lost in Tuscany, and reimported by a Greek from Venice.[2]

The baptistery of Florence is an octagon, with an octagon cupola. Under the lantern in the centre of the cupola two stripes of decoration are let in—one a ribbon of ornament, the second a string of eight framings, with angels in each of them. Lower down there is less uniformity of spacing. Three sides of the octagon above the tribune are distributed so as to represent Christ in Majesty in the central space,

[1] VASARI, i., 281, 285. There are some doubts as to whether Appollonius ever existed, though the commentators of Vasari (i., 288) quote a passage in an MS. by Del Migliore (in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana at Florence), in which there is mention of a record describing Appollonius as: "1279 Magister Appollonius pictor Florentinus." This would make Appollonius a Florentine, and not a Greek. RICHA (*Chiese Fiorentine*, v., p. xlii.) quotes records of the same tenour, but only does so at second hand, and probably from Del Migliore. Del Migliore, on his part, quotes the records of the guild of the Calemala. But they were only known to him from calendars made after the originals had perished (see com. VASARI above). We shall presently see that Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi were contemporaries.

[2] Compare VASARI (ed. Sansoni,) i., p. 336, with BALDINUCCI on above.

with three compartments on each side of him; to the left, children borne by aged men to heaven; above them, the Virgin with six apostles; and higher still, angels carrying the emblems of the Passion, or blowing the last trump. To the right, Satan in his realm; above him the Baptist, with six apostles and angels; and above these again, angels with emblems of the Passion or blowing trumpets. On the five remaining sides of the cupola the space is divided into four stripes, giving four series of five compositions: (1) Old Testament scenes, from the Creation to the Deluge; (2) ditto, with incidents in the life of St. Joseph; (3) the Passion; (4) the life of John the Baptist.

The distribution of the subjects in the baptistery of Florence is probably as old as the twelfth century; but the execution is due to numerous artists of different periods, and it would only be possible to trace the hand and the time if the mosaics had been preserved from the destructive effects of age and restoring. Amongst the wreckage we can still distinguish some segments of the cupola of an older and less defective make than others. Amongst the scenes of the Creation there is one representing the Eternal, with his arms outstretched, creating the sun and moon, which displays a fair division of proportions. It is better and probably earlier in date than others of the series, yet still inferior to parts of the Last Judgment in the tribune. Amongst the scenes of the Passion we may single out the Crucifixion, in which we find the Saviour bound to the cross with three nails, contrary to the custom of the thirteenth century, which gives a nail to each limb, and other signs make it clear that the work is comparatively modern. It is, therefore, probably consistent with historic truth to affirm that these and some other parts of the mosaic decoration were executed by men under the influence of Giotto's teaching, and we shall find additional reasons for accepting this belief because the later and more advanced Florentine style is also apparent in remnants of mosaic work between the windows, in which angels and prophets are depicted in the coloured ornament of the outer porticoes, facing the cathedral and the neighbouring hospital of the Bigallo.

The feeblest, but also the most injured and restored fragment of the mosaic decoration of the baptistery, is the Christ in Majesty, which Vasari assigns exclusively to Tafi. It is equally remark-

able for the over-size and grimness of the head, the deformity of the hands and feet, and the gaudiness of streaks of gold in drapery. Violent action trivially rendered marks the angels and apostles at the sides of Christ, showing the hand of an artist who clung to the traditions of earlier ages. But in Satan and his Realm we observe the spirit and conception of the Giottesques, who liked to represent the Inferno with a figure of Lucifer sitting on dead bodies and loaded with serpents.

Tafi may be classed as one of the last artists of the period which immediately preceded the revival of Florentine painting under Cimabue. His timid and superstitious ways are described with as much gusto in the *Novelle* of Sacchetti as his grotesque style in the pages of Vasari.[1]

No record has been kept of the works assigned to Tafi at Pisa, no trace of his practice in the execution of pictures has been preserved. His weakness, in contrast with Cimabue,[2] only makes the progress of the greater master the more conspicuous.[3] It

[1] FRANCESCO SACCHETTI, *Novelle* (ed. G. Poggiali, 8vo, Milan), Nov. CXCI. vol. iii., p. 136. Sacchetti's *Novelle* are stated to have been compiled about 1376.

* The best edition of the *Novelle* is that of Gigli (Florence, Le Monnier, 1860).

*[2] We know of no existing works by Cimabue, save the mosaic in the Duomo of Pisa, which was not entirely by him, and which has been much restored.

[3] It might have been interesting to institute a comparison between Tafi's mosaic in the baptistery and the mosaics of San Miniato near Florence. On the front of San Miniato the Saviour is represented enthroned between the Virgin and S. Miniato. In the background the Evangelists are represented by their well-known symbols, and a border of birds and other animals is broken here and there with medallions containing apostles. A mutilated inscription contains the letters AP . . . O DN̄I MCCXCVII. TĒP, P̄CE P. P. . . . SLO OPUS (but compare RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, i., 354–5). This work, which is of the age of Cimabue's mosaics at Pisa, has been reset upon the old lines, and looks in consequence like a spurious antique. It cannot on that account be criticised, even though the restorers should have found the design contoured in red on the ground beneath the cubes, as Vasari says happened when Alessio Baldovinetti and Lippo restored the mosaics of the baptistery of Florence (VASARI, i., p. 283). This is a peculiarity common to most mosaic work as well as to fresco. We find it in the mosaics of Cefalù, the wall paintings of Assisi, and Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in the Campo Santo of Pisa. In mosaics the cubes were laid according to the outline on the stucco. In wall paintings the original design was first transferred either to the raw surface of the wall, when the work was to be on one intonaco, or to the first intonaco when two were used. This was done by means of comparative squares, by which a small original drawing in the painter's hand was transferred in larger proportions to the space intended for it. After this transfer, the necessary improvements, having been made on the wall,

seems clear that when art had been reduced to the state exemplified in the frescoes and mosaics or the crucifixes and pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Italy, it had found the lowest level to which it could possibly descend. We have partly traced the reaction at Assisi. There and in Florence it was chiefly due to the action of the mendicant orders, whose generals were convinced that art in itself was a potent element of influence in attracting the masses at Florence, it led the Dominicans to adorn their convent church with pictures, and in the midst of these operations Cimabue arose and found the first incentives to progress. At Assisi it led to the supersession of Giunta by Cimabue,[1] and later on to the supersession of Cimabue by Giotto and his numerous disciples.

If we believe Vasari, Cimabue was of a noble Tuscany family, and born in 1240, and being an intelligent boy was sent by his parents to the Dominicans of Florence to prepare him for a clerk's career. He was put under the charge of the master of the novices at Santa Maria Novella, or rather at the old monastery of that name, which was demolished in after years to make room for the present convent and church. The Dominicans at that time were busy with the internal decoration of the walls, which Vasari says had been entrusted to artists engaged in Greece by the governors of Florence. Cimabue, instead of perusing his books, paid visits to the painters, and soon showed so much skill as a draughtsman that his parents apprenticed him to the Greeks, and he became their superior in the two principal qualities of design and colour.[2]

We observe that, according to Vasari, all the arts had decayed at the same time. Sculpture was restored by Niccola Pisano, architecture by Fuccio, mosaics and painting by Florentines

were transposed as corrections to the original small drawing. The final intonaco was then laid on in portions and retraced with the assistance of the squares on the still uncovered parts and on the corrected design. The use of a single intonaco lasted to the close of the thirteenth century. Two were introduced at the time of Giotto, and continued by his successors, and it was not till the fifteenth century that cartoons were pricked and pounced.

* [1] It is impossible to say whether or not Cimabue worked at Assisi. The most important of the pre-Giottesque works there are, as we have seen, by Roman masters.

[2] VASARI, i., 219.

taught by Greeks. The revival is probably not due to Greeks. There are no records confirming the statement that the Florentine State ever sent to Greece for painters. Vasari is wrong in supposing that Cimabue was the descendant of a noble Florentine family. The register of receipts and expenses of the convent of Santa Chiara of Pisa, which has recently come to light, contains a contract to which we shall presently refer, from which it appears that Giovanni, or Cenni, bore the nickname of Cimabu, but was the son of one Pepi, and lived at Florence in the parish of St. Ambrose.[1]

Wherever Cimabue was taught, he learnt something more than his immediate precursors. Though he did not raise the standard of art to a very high level, he certainly infused new life into old and worn conceptions. He threw a new energy and individuality into the empty forms of the older guildsmen, and he shed something of poetry and feeling and colour upon a degenerate school of painting. The wonder is not that he clung to the models, out of which we can still see that he first shaped his designs, but that upon such a canvas he should have achieved the advance which gave him repute. We can find no Greek elements in the art, which he simply evolved out of the rough Italian materials which we have been examining in works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it is impossible to countenance the belief that better skill in painting could have been found amongst the Greeks than amongst the Italians of the age of Cimabue.[2]

[1] See G. FONTANA'S *Due documenti inediti riguardanti Cimabue* (Pisa, 1878).

[2] Unfortunately for Vasari's theory of Greek painting practised at Florence, it is proved that the present S. Maria Novella was only commenced forty years after Cimabue's birth. Succeeding authors have supposed that the paintings of the so-called Greeks were rude ones executed in the chapels of Sant' Anna and Sant' Antonio, in the old church beneath the sacristy of S. Maria Novella. These, representing the birth of the Virgin and scenes from her life, were engraved by D'Agincourt, in ignorance of the fact that they were of the fourteenth century. DELLA VALLE and LANZI (p. 41), in the same path, fell back at last upon some older paintings discovered beneath the foregoing, which they assigned to the Greeks of Vasari, but which merely exhibited the rude hand of one amongst the feeble artists common to Italy in the thirteenth century (see VASARI, ed. Le Monnier, i., p. 220).

* According to the authors, the present church of S. Maria Novella was begun about the year 1280. There is, however, little doubt now that a considerable part of the second church, begun in 1246, forms part of the existing church. It has been shown by Mr. Wood Brown that the Gondi chapel formed part of the second

It is sufficient that we shall be able to agree with Vasari in thinking that Cimabue was the first Italian who gave an impulse to progress in the arts of drawing and painting at a time when both were in the lowest state of decay. It may be that he was not only sensible of the necessity for a change, but proud of having helped to bring it on. We read in the *Purgatorio* how conscious he was of holding the field which Giotto afterwards wrested from him.[1] A commentator, not older than the first half of the fourteenth century, says he was so zealous of his fame that if defects were pointed out to him in any of his works he would destroy them.[2] The admiration of his contemporaries was such that we can hardly conceive the occurrence of this event. It is in contrast with the anecdote[3] according to which the Madonna Rucellai, when finished, was so admired that when taken to its place of exhibition in Santa Maria Novella, it was carried in procession, preceded by a band of trumpeters, after the mightiest lords and patricians of Florence had been invited to see it in the painter's rooms.[4]

church. We know, too, that this chapel was formerly dedicated to St. Luke. And Fineschi, the historian of S. Maria Novella, asserts, upon the evidence of early documents, that a Greek, Fra Ranieri, decorated this chapel. It is not, therefore, impossible that there may be some truth in Vasari's story. See WOOD BROWN, *The Dominican Church of S. Maria Novella*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 60, and FINESCHI'S life of Bishop Saltarelli in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, *MSS. dei Conv. Sopp.; S. Maria Novella.*

[1] See, in the *Purgatorio* (canto xi., *v.* 94), the well-known lines:—

"Credette Cimabue nella pintura
Tener lo campo; ed ora ha Giotto il grido
Si, che la fama di colui e oscura."

[2] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 257.

*[3] There is no early authority for this story. It is probably a corrupt, localised version of a Sienese historical narrative. See *postea*, pp. 192, 193.

*[4] The authors do not show their usual critical acumen in preferring the testimony of a tradition which cannot be traced back farther than the early years of the sixteenth century, a tradition, too, that is first reported by untrustworthy witnesses, to the statement of one who may have seen Cimabue himself, and may well have conversed with those who knew him well. In estimating, too, the value of a story of this kind the prejudices of those who told it must be taken into account. The commentator on Dante could have had, as far as we can say, no ulterior motive in repeating such a story as he told, whilst Albertini and Vasari were impelled by their strong local patriotism to show that Cimabue was a very important person in his own day.

It is equally difficult to assign a date to the beginning of Cimabue's independent practice as a painter and to say when the Madonna of Santa Maria Novella was first placed on the altar on which it is even now standing.[1] We must be content to accept the fact that, for the time in which it was executed, the Madonna Rucellai is a masterpiece.

In this great and important picture the Virgin is represented in a red tunic and blue mantle, with her feet resting on an open-worked stool, sitting on a chair hung with a white drapery flowered in gold and blue, and carried by six angels kneeling in threes above each other. A delicately engraved nimbus surrounds her head and that of the infant Saviour on her lap, dressed in a white tunic and purple mantle shot with gold. A dark-coloured frame surrounds the picture and its gables, which are delicately traced with an ornament, interrupted at intervals by thirty medallions on gold ground, each of which contains the half figure of a saint. The face of the Madonna is marked by a tender and melancholy expression, the infant is well shaped and not wanting in animation, and the group displays a rare amount of maternal affection. The attitudes of the angels, the movement of the heads, and the elegance with which the hair is wound round the cinctures, falling in locks on the neck, are all pleasing. We are justly struck by the energetic mien of some prophets. To qualify this praise, we are bound to admit a certain loss of balance, caused by the overweight of the Virgin's head as compared with the slightness of her frame. The features are those to which the thirteenth century has accustomed us, softened, as regards the expression of the eye, by closed lids and an exaggeration of elliptical form in the iris. The nose starts from a bony protuberance, and is depressed at the end; and the mouth and chin are, as usual, small and prim. In the Saviour, the same coarse nose will be

* [1] It cannot be proved that a single picture attributed to Cimabue was painted by him. There is no documentary evidence of an earlier date than the sixteenth century that can be urged in support of the views of those who hold that the Rucellai Madonna and other works were by Cimabue. At that period Florentine writers, anxious to give all the credit of the revival of painting to a son of Florence, provided Giotto's supposed master with a heterogeneous list of works and a legend. With the exception of the much-restored mosaics of the Pisan Duomo, there is not one existing work that can be given to Cimabue. The evidence of documents and of style-criticism alike prove that the Rucellai Madonna is an early work of Duccio di Buoninsegna. We have discussed this question fully in an appendix at the end of this chapter. See *postea*, pp. 187–193.

found united to a half-open mouth and large staring eyes; and the features may be considered too masculine and square. The hands of both Virgin and Child are remarkable for the length of the taper fingers, their wide separation near the palm, and the stiffness of their articulations. The feet are quite conventional in shape. In the grouping of the angels, the absence of all true notions of composition is striking. Their frames are slight for the heads, though their movements are more natural and pleasing than those of earlier artists. In the setting of drapery, Cimabue shows no sensible progress; but he softens the hardness of the fine engraved outlines, and he gives to the flesh tints a clear and carefully fused colour, and imparts to the surfaces some of the rotundity which they had lost. With him vanish the old contrasts of half tones and shades. He abandons line shadowing for a careful stippling which follows and developes form. He relieves the general verde underground with ruddy shadows and warm lights. A flush tinges, without staining, the cheeks and lips. Unity and harmony are given by a system of final glazes, which, having now in part disappeared, exaggerate the paleness of the flesh. The draperies are painted in gay and transparent colours—reds, gently harmonising with the flesh, and brilliant blues and rosy pinks. In ornament, there is more taste and a better subordination than of old.[1]

From the date of this altarpiece the Florentine school begins to expand. Without it the superiority of Cimabue over his predecessors would remain unexplained, the principal link of artistic history at Florence would be lost, and Giotto's greatness would be difficult to understand.[2] There are companion pictures to that

[1] Time has, unfortunately, not spared portions of this picture; which, besides being longitudinally split in three places, is damaged as regards several of the saints in the border medallions.

* [2] In the case of a great master it is not so important to know who his actual master was as to discover the chief influences that helped to mould his style. Giotto's own works reveal to us the fact that in his youth he had come under the influence of the leaders of two great artistic movements. We can trace in them the influence of Pietro Cavallini and the neo-classical Roman school, on the one hand, and of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano on the other. The Roman school had a lineage much clearer than that of Cimabue. It is possible, too, to trace the origin of the movement of which Niccola was the first exponent in Tuscany. Even if the Rucellai Madonna were by Cimabue, which it is not, it would help us little in explaining the origin and early history of Giotto. But that master's kinship with the great fresco painters and mosaists of Rome and the sculptors of Pisa is obvious. Giotto's greatness, in fact, is less difficult to understand than it was a century ago. He owes something of his sense of form to Cavallini and to Niccola Pisano. To the

Madonna & Child

Early Sienese School

From an altar piece in the Louvre

of Santa Maria Novella—one at the Florentine Academy, another in the Louvre. For various reasons neither of them gives a just idea of the master.

The altarpiece of the Academy of Arts may rank high as regards composition and the study of nature; but the old types are too obstinately maintained in it, and the colour has been so altered from a variety of causes that the qualities of Cimabue can hardly be traced in it any longer.[1]

Cimabue here represents the Virgin of more than natural stature, enthroned with the Child in the act of benediction on her lap. The chair on which she sits is supported by eight angels, and her feet are on a stool resting on four arches, in which prophets stand. She is perhaps more natural in attitude and head than in the previous example, but Cimabue has not given as much care to her delineation as we should expect. The outlines are coarser, the frame more robust than elsewhere. But a wild energy characterises the two prophets in the central niche.[2]

In the Madonna at the Louvre the old ornamented frame with its twenty-six medallions, containing busts of saints, is reminiscent of that of the Rucellai, and shares much of its character, though apparently more carelessly executed.[3] Originally in San Francesco of Pisa, this altarpiece may be taken as evidence of the painter's stay in that city, when at the close of his life he held the office of *capo-maestro* of the mosaics of the Duomo. But other pictures of Cimabue in Florentine churches and collections call for notice before we turn to the mosaics of Pisa.

A large crucifix in the sacristy of Santa Croce at Florence is still attributed to him, because a work of the kind was noted as

same masters he is largely indebted for his fine free manner of designing drapery. To the inspiration of Giovanni Pisano he owes some of his dramatic power.

*[1] The Madonna attributed to Cimabue is certainly not by the same hand as the Rucellai Madonna, and the crucifix at S. Croce is by a different hand to either.

[2] Florence Academy, Sala dei Maestri Toscani, Sala Prima, No. 102, on a chair supported by eight guardian angels; the throne upon a floor resting on niched supports, in which the four prophets stand who foretold the Saviour's coming; such is again the simple subject of the altarpiece of the Academy of Arts at Florence, whose gable form has been modernised into a rectangular one.

[3] Louvre, No. 1,260. Wood, m. 4.24 h. by 2.76. The glazes are removed and the surfaces are abraded. The draperies, originally shot with gold, are repainted, and the gold ground and haloes are regilded. Many of the medallions, too, are repainted.

his by Vasari and Albertini.[1] The antiquated character of the painting may point to the master's early time, and explain the pleasure with which the Florentines afterwards witnessed the more attractive art of the Madonna of Santa Maria Novella.

An altarpiece which once stood in a chapel in Santa Croce now forms part of the collection of the National Gallery. It represents the Virgin, over life-size, with the infant Christ on her knee, adored by six angels. It is a pity that time and accidents should have robbed this piece of many of the characteristics which mark Cimabue's style. But some fragments remain to justify the nomenclature.[2]

[1] VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 251; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture che sono nella città di Firenze* (reprint from the original edition of 1510, by G. and C. MILANESI and C. GUASTI), Firenze, 1863, p. 15.

[2] National Gallery, No. 565; tempera, wood, with gabled top, 6 feet 3 inches high by 5 feet 6 inches; from the Ugo Baldi and Lombardi collection and Santa Croce. VASARI, ed. Sansoni, i., p. 250; BOCCHI, *Bellezze di Firenze* (Firenze, 1591), p. 153; and CINELLI (do. 1677), p. 316. Before proceeding to notice other works assigned to Cimabue, we should state that the following, mentioned by Vasari, have perished, viz. the wall paintings in the hospital of the Porcellana (*ibid.*, i., p. 250); St. Agnes, a panel with side pictures of the life of the saint, in San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno at Pisa (*ibid.*, i., p. 251); wall paintings, with scenes from the life of Christ in San Spirito at Florence; and paintings at Empoli (VASARI, i., p. 254). In the Academy of Arts at Florence, a Virgin and Child (No. 46), from San Paolino of Florence, is assigned to Cimabue, but is evidently not by him. Vasari mentions as one of Cimabue's first works an altarpiece in St. Cecilia at Florence (i., p. 250), which has been thought identical with one in the Uffizi, formerly in St. Cecilia, and later in S. Stefano (No. 2 Catalogue of the Uffizi). It represents St. Cecilia enthroned. At the upper angles of the throne two angels wave censers. On each side are four episodes of the life of the saint. This picture is executed according to the methods of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and therefore in the Giottesque manner rather than in the style of Cimabue.

Vasari assigns to Cimabue the St. Francis of Santa Croce, which has already found a place amongst the works of Margaritone. Kugler attributes to Cimabue a picture in a passage leading to the sacristy of S. Simone at Florence representing St. Peter. The date of 1307 on this piece excludes Cimabue.

In the late Campana Gallery at Rome, and subsequently under No. 10 in the Musée Napoleon III. at the Louvre, was a St. Christopher, supposed to be that which, according to Vasari, was painted by Cimabue in his house in Borgo Allegri at Florence (VASARI, i., p. 225). This picture, extensively damaged, is evidently of the first half of the fourteenth century. No. 15 of the same museum at the Louvre represents the Virgin and Child with angels, and was assigned to Cimabue in the Campana collection. It is a Giottesque work. But these pieces are not now exhibited at the Louvre. RICHA (iv., p. 306) notices a crucifix by Cimabue in the convent church of S. Jacopo di Ripoli at Florence. At Christ Church, Oxford, there are a

MADONNA AND CHILD

EARLY SIENESE SCHOOL

From a picture in the National Gallery, London

I.—*To face page* 184

The exact time of Cimabue's arrival at Pisa is not known, but the books of the cathedral tell us that he was employed there in May, 1301,[1] with Francesco of San Simone, Lapo of Florence, Duccio (? Siena), and other painters,[2] in producing the Majesty, a large mosaic in the apsis of the Pisan Cathedral. In November of the same year Cimabue and his partner, Nucchulus Apparecchiati, contracted to paint an altarpiece with a predella for the brethren of the hospital of Santa Chiara of Pisa; and although it appears that the altarpiece was never executed, the mosaics are still in existence, and give a sufficient idea of the master's range of power.[3] That the Pisans should employ Cimabue to design the mosaics of their Duomo, and supersede for his sake their old *capo-maestro* Francesco, that the latter should not only yield to Cimabue, but labour in his company, is one of the strongest proofs which can be adduced to show that the Pisans were unable to find in their own school a master equal to the Florentine.[4]

fragment of a Virgin and a St. Peter, two panels assigned to Cimabue, but by some late Giottesque. There is also a Virgin and Child enthroned between six angels, with a kneeling donor in front. At the sides are Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. These three pieces, assigned to Cimabue, are by some follower of Duccio of Siena.

* The picture of St. Cecilia mentioned at the close of the first paragraph resembles in some peculiarities of composition and drawing the first and the four last of the St. Francis series in the upper church at Assisi. This has already been remarked by Mr. Fry. See FRY, *Giotto* in the *Monthly Review*, December, 1900, pp. 156–157. Two panels in the Munich Gallery, which are attributed to Cimabue, are works of the Roman school. See page 97 of this volume.

* [1] Cimabue began to work on the Majestas on August 30th, 1301.

* [2] Francesco of S. Simone, a Pisan painter, was the first to work upon the mosaic of the Majestas. He was succeeded by Cimabue. We have searched through the *Libri d'entrata e uscita* of the Duomo, but can find no mention of Duccio in the years 1301 and 1302. There was Parduccius and a Puccius, who assisted Cimabue. Probably Morrona, who gives Duccio as an assistant of Cimabue, misread one of the references to Parduccius and to Puccius. Parduccius could not have been Duccio, as he is referred to as "puer." Duccio must have been over forty years of age at the least in 1301.

[3] In CIAMPI (*Notizie*, p. 144) is a record of 1302, Pisan style (equivalent to 1301 of our reckoning), in which Cimabue's name appears as receiving, in company of his "famulus," pay at the rate of ten solidos per diem, for the execution of the Majesty in the Duomo of Pisa. The document says: "Cimabue pictor magiestatis sua sponte confessus fuit se habuisse . . . &c. lib. decem . . . de figura S. Johannis quam fecit juxta magiestatem." Thus he had already completed the Majesty when he commenced the figure of St. John. See also G. FONTANA, *Due Documenti*, *u.s.*, p. 5 and fol.

* [4] That Cimabue superseded Francesco is true. But we can find no docu-

The Saviour enthroned in Glory between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist, in the apsis of the Duomo of Pisa, was probably the last of Cimabue's labours, as, according to Ciampi, the latter figure remained unfinished. Unfortunately the mosaic has suffered excessive damage. In the Saviour, the feet and other parts; in the Virgin, the face; and in St. John, subordinate portions have been deprived of their original character by restoring. Yet in the forms and features of these figures, and in the colossal overweight of the Saviour, the manner of Cimabue can be discerned. He gives the Redeemer a melancholy rather than a grim expression, and a certain majestic air of repose in the attitude and features. The head is of the circular shape, which had never been lost in Italy since it was first conceived by an artist of the Roman catacombs. The brow is still heavily projected and wrinkled, but the eyes have lost the gaze of the degenerate period; and the features are not without regularity and proportion. Thus Cimabue, who had reformed the type of the Virgin, moulded that of the Saviour in a better shape. To the bending figure of the Evangelist he also gives a certain languid reverence peculiarly his own. Finally, as a mosaist, he proves himself superior to the artists of the baptistery of Florence and even to Gaddo Gaddi, whose works at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome are also evidence of the impulse given to Florentine art.

Of Cimabue's death Vasari gives an incorrect account so far as he registers its occurrence in 1300. Pisan records prove his existence in November, 1302, of the Pisan year, which would be 1301 of the Florentine reckoning. After that date we lose sight of him. His residence and labours at Assisi, where many wall paintings in his style are preserved, cannot reasonably be called in question.[1] But as the study of his works in San Francesco of Assisi involves the whole question of the rise of Giotto, it will be necessary to devote to this sanctuary a special chapter.

mentary evidence to support the statement that they worked at the Majestas together. Since we consulted the *Libri d'entrata e uscita* of the Duomo, TANFANI-CENTOFANTI *Notizie di Artisti tratte dai Documenti Pisani* has appeared. The learned Pisa archivist has found no document in which Francesco is spoken of as working with Cimabue. See TANFANI-CENTOFANTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–121.

*[1] Rumohr and other competent authorities of his day have asserted that there is no trustworthy evidence that Cimabue painted in the Upper Church at Assisi. See RUMOHR, *op. cit.*, tom. i., § 8. Professor Wickhoff and Dr. J. P. Richter are of the opinion that there are no existing paintings which can be definitely assigned to Cimabue. See WICKHOFF, *Ueber der zeit des Guido von Siena.* In *Mittheilungen*

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

CIMABUE AND THE RUCELLAI MADONNA

NOWHERE does the local patriotism of Florentine writers more powerfully manifest itself than in their accounts of early Tuscan artists. Since the latter half of the fifteenth century there has been a succession of writers who have sought to prove that the whole credit of the revival of the art of painting in Italy belonged to Florence. "It became an axiom with Tuscan historians that every great artist" in Siena or "in northern Italy about whose artistic education they knew little or nothing must have been initiated into the art of painting in Florence,"[1] and that every important early picture or fresco that could not be proved to be by an artist of another school was by a Florentine master. They were not content with hymning the mighty genius of Giotto, for Giotto had contemporaries of other schools, who, though lesser men, were also innovators. They were anxious to show that, in the thirteenth century, when all was darkness elsewhere, the new light was already shining in the city by the Arno. Consequently at the commencement of the fifteenth century it became the fashion to magnify Cimabue, to antedate his career, and to attribute all early Tuscan pictures of merit to him. Cimabue was held up to admiration as the Father of Italian painting. The evidence of contemporary documents and early references to Cimabue do not at all justify the prejudiced statements of patriotic Florentines. The evidence of documents only proves that he helped to execute the much-restored Majestas of the Pisa Duomo, and that he painted a picture of S. Chiara at Pisa, a work which has since been lost. Dante indeed tells us that Cimabue held the field in painting before Giotto; but Dante, exile though he was, was deeply imbued with Florentinism, and was prone to exaggerate the achievements of his friends and of his friends' friends. If Dante did not know Cimabue

des Institut für osterreichische Geschichts forschung, Innsbruck, 1895, and RICHTER, *Lectures on the National Gallery*, London, 1898, p. 4. The first mention of Cimabue's labours at Assisi occurs in the Book of Antonio Billi, which was composed between the years 1506 and 1532. No two authoritative writers are agreed as to the works which are to be attributed to Cimabue at Assisi.

[1] RICHTER, *Notes to Vasari's Lives of the Painters*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1892, p. 105.

personally, as an early tradition relates, he was a friend of Giotto, and both his Florentinism and his friendship with Cimabue's pupil Giotto led him no doubt to magnify the importance of the older master's achievement.[1] Dante, like a true Florentine, had a strong prejudice against the Sienese and all their works. He probably knew little or nothing of the achievement of the few great masters of the Roman proto-Renaissance. Dante's mention of Cimabue proves nothing more than that that artist was the greatest Florentine painter in the years that immediately preceded Giotto's recognition as a great painter, that is, in the concluding years of the thirteenth century. The early commentators on Dante add but a little personal anecdote as comment upon the poet's brief allusion to the master. Ghiberti, writing a century after Cimabue's death, merely makes a passing mention of him as one of the painters in the Greek manner. It was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that the Cimabue legend began to assume definite shape. At the time of the Renaissance, Florentines began to take a deeper interest in the achievements of great Florentines, began to write "Lives" of them in imitation of the classical biographers. And as the golden age of Italian art began to wane, the voice of the art-critic and the art-historian began to be heard in the land. Florence was eager to show that her sons had led the way in the revival of the art of painting. She soon gained the ear of the civilised world, and persuaded men to take the achievement of the early Florentine painters at her own valuation. Early in the sixteenth century Albertini gave the first list of Cimabue's works, a heterogeneous catalogue of pictures by various artists, and the writer of the Book of Antonio Billi put before the world the embryo Cimabue legend. Out of this material, and the scanty references of earlier writers, Vasari constructed his amazing biography of Cimabue. The earlier of the "Lives" of the Aretine writer, his biographies of Giotto and Duccio, of Agostino di Giovanni, and Agnolo di Ventura, are full of inaccuracies, improbable anecdotes, and stories which have been proved to be inventions. But his life of Cimabue is the most unveracious of all of them. He did not even know the painter's name. He did not know the name of his family. He did not know the date of his death. He did not know the date of his authentic works at Pisa. But to Vasari his imagination was a very present help in time of trouble. In his anxiety to exalt his hero by

[1] Cimabue was perhaps Giotto's master; but the forces that played the most important part in the formation of his style were the influence of the great Roman masters and the influence of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano.

depreciating his contemporaries and predecessors, he began his biography with one of the most astounding of the many extraordinary misrepresentations to be found in his great work. "The overwhelming flood of evils by which unhappy Italy had been submerged and devastated," he writes, "had not only destroyed whatever could properly be called buildings, but, a still more deplorable consequence, had totally exterminated the artists themselves, when, by the will of God, in the year 1240 Giovanni Cimabue, of the noble family of that name, was born in the city of Florence to give light to the art of painting." This sentence contains at least four errors upon plain matters of fact. To comment upon them is quite unnecessary. As we think upon Vasari's statement there rise before us the noblest works of the greatest school of architecture that modern Italy has produced, the school that arose in Vasari's own Tuscany, but not in Florence. We see Pisa Cathedral; the cathedral of Lucca and San Michele in that city; and S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia. I see, too, the noble abbeys of Tuscany built under French influence, S. Galgano in the Valley of the Merse, and S. Antimo, near Montalcino. And not only had Tuscany produced great architects in the Middle Ages: before Cimabue rose to pre-eminence there were flourishing schools of painting in Siena, Pisa, and Florence.

Just as Neapolitan writers provided the legendary Simone Napoletano with a list of pictures, of works which belonged of right to Sienese and Florentine painters, so Vasari and other Florentine writers gave to their local hero Cimabue a number of works by the great early artists of Rome and Siena. So eager were they to add to his list of pictures that, as we have seen, even Margaritone was laid under contribution. Just as the Coronation of King Robert in San Lorenzo at Naples was filched from Simone Martini and given to a Neapolitan painter by his patriotic fellow-countrymen, so, in Florence, a great work of a foreign artist, Duccio di Buoninsegna, was assigned to Cimabue.

That the Rucellai Madonna was painted by Duccio can be demonstrated both by documentary evidence and by connoisseurship. First, let us consider the documentary evidence for this attribution.

In the Florence Archives there is to be found a copy of an agreement made by Duccio di Buoninsegna on April 15th, 1285, with the Rector and officials of the Society of St. Mary Virgin to paint a Madonna for their altar in S. Maria Novella. The Rucellai Madonna I hold is the picture referred to in that document.

The Chapel of the Society of St. Mary was at that time the chapel

afterwards known as the Bardi Chapel, which is in the right transept of S. Maria Novella. When the Rucellai Madonna appears in the sixteenth century it is found by Vasari hanging on the wall of the church just outside the Bardi Chapel. How it was that Duccio's picture was removed from its original position to this spot is easily explainable. In the year 1335 the Chapel of St. Gregory passed into the hands of the Bardi of Vernio, who redecorated it, and no doubt provided it with an altarpiece of their own choosing. Consequently, the Madonna of the Confraternity of St. Mary Virgin was moved from the chapel. But as its members continued to meet in the right transept, the picture was placed near to its old position on the wall outside the Bardi Chapel, where Vasari saw it. It was subsequently removed into the Rucellai Chapel, and came to be known as the Rucellai Madonna.

The two historians of S. Maria Novella, P. Fineschi, who wrote in 1790, and Mr. Wood Brown, who wrote in 1902, maintain, in defiance of popular opinion, that this picture is a work of Duccio. There is no mention of any work by Cimabue in any of the records of the convent.

But the documentary evidence for this attribution would not suffice were it not supported by connoisseurship. Professor Wickhoff and Dr. J. P. Richter have both contended that the picture is a work of the Sienese school. Dr. Richter, in fact, after a careful examination of the altarpiece, declared that it differed in nothing from Duccio's great Majestas in Siena. The present writers can indeed detect some slight differences in style between the two pictures, but only such as one would expect to find in two works painted by the same artist at a distance of twenty-five years, in a period of rapid development in the art of painting. In its forms, in its colour, in its technique, the Rucellai Madonna is entirely Sienese. The altarpiece at S. Maria Novella is an early work, and thus the peculiarities of Duccio's early style. Something of Byzantine stiffness and Byzantine convention is, of course, to be found in it. In the drawing of the drapery we do not find the same knowledge of the human form, the same freedom that manifest themselves in Duccio's last great masterpiece. And whilst the child in this picture differs but little from Duccio's later representations of the divine Infant, the features of the Virgin remind us in some respect of his Byzantine predecessors.

But these differences do not in any way affect our contention that the Rucellai Madonna is by Duccio. For in the Siena Gallery (Stanza i., No. 20) is an undoubted early work of the Sienese master in which are to be found these same peculiarities, the peculiarities of the artist's early

MADONNA AND CHILD *Lombardi, pho.*

By Duccio di Buoninsegna

From a picture in the Siena Gallery

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manner. This picture is most closely related to the Rucellai Madonna. In type and in posture the infant in the little picture in the Siena Gallery is identical with that in the S. Maria Novella altarpiece. We note the arrangement of the hair over the left temple, the left ear of the baby, its mouth, its hands, its feet: in both pictures these features are the same. Especially noticeable is the curious posture of the left leg and foot. This is entirely characteristic of Duccio's early manner. In the representations of the Madonna the similarity between the two pictures is scarcely less marked. We note in them the chief characteristics of Duccio's early manner, the large elliptical iris to the eye, the mouth a little askew and turned down at the corners, the nose more aquiline than in his later works. The drapery too is stiffer and more angular in design than in the master's later works: we miss the sinuous, flowing lines of the robe of the Madonna in the Majestas. Yet more marked is the similarity between the thrones in the two pictures. In each case the throne is made of wood, is seen from the side, and has a high footstool with a double arch in front. And if we examine the thrones closely, we find that there is a similarity in details of pattern. We see it in the ornamentation of the framework of the two thrones, in the finials of their front supports, in the leaf decoration in the spandrels of the arches of the footstool. These thrones, if not based upon the throne in the early Sienese picture of St. Peter Enthroned in the Siena Gallery, are at least derived from the same source.

We see then that the few points of style in which the Rucellai Madonna differs from Duccio's Majestas, which Mr. Roger Fry, the latest defender of the traditional attribution, regards as the peculiarities of Cimabue, are in fact the characteristics of Duccio's early manner. Living in an age of rapid transition and in the city which Giovanni Pisano had made his home, it is but natural that Duccio's style underwent some modifications in the course of a quarter of a century. The artist studied more and more the structure of the human figure under northern influences. He became less Byzantine and more Gothic. The lines of his draperies become more graceful, more sinuous, his modelling stronger. His later Madonnas are less languid, less mournful than his earlier. There is a marked difference, too, in the thrones he designs. In his earlier works the thrones are of wood. His later thrones—designed when the influence of sculptors like Arnolfo and Maitano was strong in Tuscany—are of marble, and are inlaid with mosaic.

Notwithstanding these differences, the relationship between the Rucellai Madonna and Duccio's latest work, his great Majestas, is un-

mistakable. There is, too, a close connection between the Rucellai Madonna and the works of some of Duccio's followers, such as Segna di Buonaventura, who, like some of Fra Angelico's pupils, copied in some particulars their master's earlier manner. It would be easy to trace the relationship of the S. Maria Novella altarpiece to Segna's altarpieces at Castiglione Fiorentino and Città di Castello, and to the Madonna of Duccio's school, a work which is attributed to Cimabue, in the National Gallery. The angels in the picture at London are of a similar type to those of the Majestas, and the infant resembles the representation of the Divine Child in the little Madonna of Duccio in the Siena Gallery to which we have already alluded.

It is easy to account for the Florentine legend of the triumphal procession of the Rucellai Madonna from Cimabue's house to S. Maria Novella. The student of comparative mythology knows that a striking story, true or imaginary, belonging to one race was often borrowed altogether or in part by a neighbouring people. Now whilst we can find no earlier allusion to this alleged triumphal reception of a Madonna of Cimabue than that written by the author of the Book of Antonio Billi, an author who wrote about two and a half centuries after the event is supposed to have taken place, we have unimpeachable contemporary evidence that a triumphal reception similar to that described by Vasari was actually given to Duccio's great Siena altarpiece, when on June 9th, 1311, it was conveyed from Duccio's house, near the Porta a Stalloregi, to the Siena Duomo.

On that day, a contemporary chronicler relates, a public holiday was proclaimed in Siena. All shops and offices were closed. With great pomp the bishops and clergy of Siena, the priors of the Nine and other officials of the Republic, and a great concourse of citizens bore the noble ancona to its appointed place. The account of this event given by the anonymous chronicler is confirmed by contemporary documents (see Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Libro del Camarlingo del Comune*, June, 1311; c. 261).

This story of the procession of Duccio's Majestas no doubt reached Florence, and was told and retold there. In course of time the name of the Sienese artist was forgotten, but Cimabue's name was kept fresh in men's minds by Dante's eulogy of him. Ultimately, by a quite natural process, the name of the Florentine painter took the place of that of Duccio in the traditional narrative; and when, at the time of the Renaissance, the Rucellai Madonna was attributed to Cimabue, the transplanted story of the procession of the Majestas was naturally attached to that great picture.

ST. PETER ENTHRONED
From a picture in the Siena Gallery

Lombardi, pho.

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Naples affords an analogous example of theft. She also stole the story of the procession of the picture and bestowed it upon her shadowy Simone Napoletano, to whom also she gave such Sienese works as Simone Martini's Coronation of King Robert. And local patriotism was even stronger in Florence than in Naples.

We conclude, then, that the Rucellai Madonna is a work of Duccio, and that to scientific criticism Cimabue as an artist is an unknown person; and we believe that Giotto, the real founder of the Florentine school, owed more to Pietro Cavallini and the Roman masters, on the one hand, and to Niccola and Giovanni Pisano on the other, than to any early Tuscan painters.

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